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Jesus Christ has made us free from the servitude of the flesh and meet for the service of God through the spirit which He has given us. Therefore we shall surely lay down the unchristian, yea satanic weapons of force, such as sword, armor and the like, together with all their use, whether for the protection of friends or against personal enemies; and this in the strength of the words of Christ, "I say unto you that ye resist not evil."

Statement from the first Confession of Faitn adopted by the Anabaptists, February 24, 1527 at Schlatten am Randen, Germany, called *Bruederliche Vereinigung.*

The regenerated do not go to war, nor engage in strife. They are the children of peace who have beaten their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks, and know of no war. They render under unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's. Their sword is the sword of the Spirit which they wield with a good conscience through the Holy Ghost.

—*Menno Simons.*

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Volume I October 1927 Number 4

Editorial

SHALL THE MENNONITE CHURCH OF THIS GENERATION, TOGETHER with other nonresistant churches, continue to maintain the historic position on peace and war which it has held these centuries? We are faced squarely with this question by the material presented in the second and concluding instalment of John Horsch's *An Historical Survey of the Position of the Mennonite Church on Non-Resistance.* In the period under discussion, namely the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the principle was firmly held by all groups of Mennonites during the first two centuries (with slight exceptions). The nineteenth century however witnessed a serious decline which led to an almost complete abandonment of the principle among the Mennonites of Holland and Northwest Germany. This decline continued until today the principle has been quite lost, for all practical purposes, in every part of Europe except Russia. Will the Mennonites of America be able to continue to hold firmly the absolute nonresistant attitude, as they have for the most part to the present time? Whatever the future may hold, the documentary evidence adduced by John Horsch in these two discussions, makes it forever impossible to deny that the fathers of Mennonites of today, of every land and clime, did hold the principle of absolute non-resistance with unbroken allegiance for almost three centuries from the origin of the Church in Switzerland, Germany, and Holland. The vivid personal incidents recited by the writer at the close of his account, add a special touch of living experience to the documentary evidence.

THE EXPERIENCE OF MENNONITES DURING THE PAST WORLD WAR HAS made many desire to know more of the experience of their forefathers during the Revolutionary War. This interesting account is given quite fully and authoritatively by Wilbur Bender in the second and concluding instalment of his history of *Pacifism Among the Mennonites, Amish Men-*

nonites, and Schwenkfelders of Pennsylvania to 1783. The difficulty due to conscription was nonexistent, since there was no universal conscription at that time, but all the other familiar troubles—misunderstanding by fellow citizens, the charge of unpatriotic slackery or worse, treason, cowardice, profiteering, indifference to the common weal, persecution by hoodlums and gangs—find their counterpart here. Similarly note the dealings with government officials, petitions to the Assembly and local authorities, special statutes, exemptions and compensations, and finally trouble within the Church. It is an interesting and heartening story which has been pieced together out of the scattered and meager materials at hand. Proudly we can say that these of old did not flinch in their allegiance to what was right before God and conscience, though the wish of Dr. Benjamin Rush is still far from fulfilment—"Perhaps those German sects of Christians who refuse to bear arms for the shedding of human blood may be preserved by Divine Providence as the center of a circle which shall gradually embrace all nations of the Earth in a perpetual treaty of friendship and peace." A similar treatment for the Civil War would be a very desirable piece of work. The reproduction of the *Petition to the Pennsylvania Assembly against Military Service,* November, 1775, as well as the other source material in the appendix, adds to the value of the discussions.

With this issue, the Review resumes publication of the exhaustive bibliography of American Mennonite Literature which was begun in the January issue, continued in April, but omitted in the July number. The period presented in this section is that of the first twenty years following the Civil War, 1867-1886. The mass of publications has increased so much that even with this shorter period over 150 titles are listed, more than the number listed in the previous forty years, 1827-1866. A perusal of the titles sheds much light on the life and interests, as well as activities of the Mennonites during the period. It is intended to complete the bibliography in two additional sections of twenty years each, the lists to appear in the issues for January and April, 1928.

The press of material and the limited size of the Review have forced the omission of the department, *Reviews and Notes,* from this issue. In its place however we present an extensive discussion on *Anabaptism in Tyrol* by Dr. Ernst Correll, which is essentially an extended review and commentary on the material presented in the recent book by Dr. Loesche of Innsbruck, Austria, entitled, *Archival Contributions to the History of Anabaptism and Protestantism in the Tyrol and Vorarlberg* (transl.). Dr. Correll's well-known work in the field of Anabaptist history makes any contribution from his pen desirable, and worth while.

An Historical Survey of the Position of the Mennonite Church on Nonresistance

John Horsch

II.

The Seventeenth Century

The confession of faith of the Waterland Mennonites,[32] drawn up by two of their most prominent ministers, Hans de Ries and Lubbert Gerrits, and published 1610 at Alkmaar, has the following article on *The Office of the Civil Magistracy or Government*:[33]

> The worldly authority, or civil magistracy, is a necessary ordinance of God, instituted and appointed for the maintenance of general government and to make possible a good natural civil life, for the protection of the good and the punishment of the evil.
>
> The Lord Jesus did not institute the office of the magistracy in His spiritual kingdom, the church of the New Testament, nor has He included it in the offices peculiar to His church (I Cor. 12:28; Eph. 4:11). He did not call His disciples or followers to be worldly kings, princes, rulers or authorities (Matt. 20:25-28; Luke 22:25-27), nor has He ordered them to accept such offices or to rule the world in such a worldly manner. Again He did not give to the members of His church instructions befitting such an office or government. But He, whom they were bidden by a voice from heaven to hear, has called them to follow His nonresistant life (Heb. 12:2, 3; I Pet. 2:21-23) and His cross-bearing example, and in His example nothing is less in evidence than worldly authority, civil power, or the sword. Taking all this into consideration and, furthermore, in view of the fact that with the office of the civil magistracy many other things are connected, such as war, violence, punishing enemies [wrongdoers] by depriving them of possessions and life, and other things which agree either badly or not at all with the self-denying life of a Christian—for these reasons we shun such offices.

In the confession written by Jan Centsen in Amsterdam, 1630, we have the following:[34]

> Christ enjoined on His people to follow His defenseless, cross-bearing life prohibiting all revenge, not only with arms but also to return railing for railing; and on the contrary He has commanded us to pray for our enemies, to do good unto them that wrong us and, in short, to shun many things which are connected with the office of the magistracy; therefore we do not accept civil offices.

Article 14 of the Mennonite Confession of Dort, 1632,[35] reads as follows:

> Regarding revenge and resisting our enemies with the sword we believe and confess that the Lord Jesus Christ has forbidden His disciples and followers all retaliation and revenge, and has commanded them not to "return evil for evil nor railing for railing," but to "put up the sword into the sheath" or, as the prophets foretold, "beat them into ploughshares" (Matt. 5:39, 44; Rom. 12:14; I Pet. 3:9; Isaiah 2:4; Micah 4:3).
>
> From this we see that, following His example, life, and teaching, we cannot cause suffering, harm, or grief to any one, but we must seek the highest welfare and salvation of all men. We believe that, if necessity requires it, we should flee for the Lord's sake from one city or country to another and suffer "the spoiling of our goods," rather than cause suffering to any one. And if we are struck, we should turn the other cheek also, rather than to retaliate or strike back (Matt. 5:39; 10:23; Rom. 12:19).

The congregations of the Waterland Mennonites in Amsterdam decided, in 1619, that members who traveled on armed ships (sailing, principally, for the East Indies), or who shared in the ownership of such ships, as well as those who consented to serve as jurors "in cases of accusation for capital crimes or when such services would otherwise conflict with the love of God, or our neighbor, or the law of Christ, could not be permitted to partake of the communion." This decision was restated and approved by the same group of churches in 1631 and again in 1647.[36] At Harlingen during the same century the rule was that those who transgressed in this way were excommunicated.[37]. Many Mennonites who had become identified with the Netherlands East India Company withdrew from this company early in the sixteenth century because their ships carried cannon and other means of defense.

In 1613 a member of one of the Waterland congregations in Amsterdam was taken to task by the church for the reason that he had severely attacked "two thieves who had come into his room to steal." "He confessed that he was sorry for what he had done and asked God and the brethren to forgive him, declaring further that, in order to obtain forgiveness, he was willing to bear and fulfil anything which, according to the Word of God, may be asked of him, and he further agreed that this confession should be brought before the congregation."[38]

Vincent de Hond, a prominent minister among the Old Flemish Mennonites at Haarlem, wrote some time during the first quarter of this century:

From all these and many other passages of Scripture it is clear that we cannot accept the office of the magistracy and, what is more, we cannot be obedient in things that are contrary to the teaching of the Lord.

Therefore, if any one, be it even the government, would command us to resist evil with outward weapons, we are not under duty to obey and cannot do so even if we should be made to suffer for it. For it is better to suffer than to burden the conscience by doing that which we understand to be forbidden by the Lord.[39]

I understand that the expressions "government" and "sword of the government" have the same meaning, for the government reigns with the sword and there is no government without the sword, that is, without force or power. No government can exercise its office without punishment.[40]

Jacob Janz, minister of the Old Flemish church on the Dutch island of Ameland, wrote about 1650:

Is it not to be deplored that the members of Christ's body and of His spiritual kingdom should be compelled to take part in the abominable bloody war? Such a demand is made of those who are citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, the city of peace; of those who in Christ have laid aside all enmity, hatred, envy and strife. . . . And though they "walk in the flesh, they do not war after the flesh." "For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal but mighty through God" (II Cor. 10:3, 4).[41]

Georg Hanson, minister of the Flemish Mennonite church at Danzig, wrote in his *Instructions in the Faith, For Young People,* in 1671:

The weapons which we need to this end are, according to Paul's teaching, none other than the whole armor of God, the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation, the sword of the Spirit which is the Word of God (Eph. 6:11-17). Christian believers can use no other weapons.[42]

Jan Dionijssen Verburg, a Mennonite minister of Rotterdam, said in a booklet published in 1678:

Christians are forbidden to engage in war, whether it be called defensive or offensive war, that is to say, whether the purpose is to ward off bodily violence or to inflict it upon others. The difference which is often made between offensive and defensive, that is, between attacking and resisting attack, is nothing more than an excuse which serves to becloud the issue. The fact is that a defensive war differs from an offensive one only in this respect that the former is waged against an enemy who first attacks us and

> the latter against one whom we attack first. Nevertheless all that is found possible to do in the way of destruction, murder and devastation is carried out in the one case as well as in the other. And men fail in their Christian duty toward their enemies even if they defend the walls of a city without undertaking an attacking sally and committing one of the abominations named.[43]

Engel Arentson, minister of the Mennonite church at Rijp in Holland, wrote in a booklet in 1693:

> What is war but a sea of misery, a wilderness filled with horrors of every description? Sometimes, it is true, the evil is given a good appearance by the assertion that it serves to protect right and innocence. But who could believe that one could be made happy by the misfortune of others?—Who was ever able to reconcile war with the principles of righteousness and equity?[44]

Galenus Abrahams, a prominent Mennonite minister of Amsterdam, in his *Short System of Christian Doctrine,* published in 1699, wrote:

> Furthermore we believe that to Christians it is not only prohibited to demand an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, or to engage in war against their enemies, but that all resistance which they might offer to protect the property or life, or by which they might destroy that of their neighbor is expressly forbidden them. We believe that they are in duty bound, according to the holy, heavenly doctrine of their Redeemer and His perfect example, to love their enemies, to bless them that curse them, etc.[45]

Abrahams also says at another place:

> All resistance by force and all attempts having for their object the defence or protection of ourselves, or our families, or property by affronting, wounding or killing our fellow man, we believe to be forbidden the Christian, as well as vengeance of every description.[46]

The Eighteenth Century

A member of the Mennonite church at Alkmaar in Holland, Dr. Klaas Toornburg, in 1688 published a book containing a noteworthy defense of the principle of nonresistance. He notes with regret that some of the Mennonite churches of Holland had discarded their earlier position on this point.[47] There is, on the other hand, much material to establish the fact that during the eighteenth century various Mennonite groups, comprising many congregations, faithfully maintained the historic attitude of the church. While the following quotations refer to Mennonite groups in the Netherlands, North Germany and Poland, the churches in other countries—Switzerland, South Germany, France, and America—were of one mind with them.

A number of Mennonites of Holland, in a *Vindication* of their brethren in Switzerland who were persecuted for their refusal to serve in the army, wrote in 1710:

> It is true, we believe and confess that the Lord Jesus Christ has forbidden His disciples all vengeance and retaliation, wherefore we, in accordance with His blessed example, life and doctrine, consider ourselves under obligation not to bring suffering, oppression, or affliction upon any one, much less to resist the enemies with the sword. And in our humble opinion there arises no danger to the state or our dear fatherland from our attitude. Certainly this has been established by experience during more than one hundred years of the history of the United Netherlands. The Mennonites can and will the more fervently pray for the protection of the fatherland and the state, the higher they prize the liberty of conscience which they enjoy in this land, even if for conscience' sake they cannot fight with carnal weapons.[48]

The Mennonites of Emden, Germany, in 1713, published a confession in which they say:

> We believe that it is our duty to abstain from military service.[49]

Abraham Verduin, a Mennonite minister at Koog in Holland, wrote in 1714:

> The Mennonites believe and teach that, as subjects of Christ's spiritual kingdom, they do not have liberty to accept the office of worldly rulership, since with this office are connected so many bloody wars, fightings and contentions and other dangers of doing that which before God is sin.[50]

A German non-Mennonite writer, Simon Friedrich Rues, in a work entitled *Impartial Information about the Present Condition of the Mennonites,* published in 1743, says of the numerous groups of the old Flemish Mennonites:

> They believe that the government is ordained of God, and therefore render willing obedience to its laws and commands. They teach that taxes and duties must be paid without murmuring and without asking for what purpose they are to be used. They are thankful to God for the blessing of being permitted to live a quiet and peaceable life under the protection of the government. They believe, however, that in the church of Christ there is no room for the government as such, and if all people were true Christians and the true church of Christ would comprise all men living on earth, there would be no need for the civil government and God would not desire that there should be governments. But since this has never been realized and it

cannot be hoped that it will be realized, God has instituted the office of the government. He did this in order that the world may not be made a den of thieves. All men are obligated to obey the magistracy, not only from fear but for conscience' sake. Nevertheless they readily admit that they do not think it right that Christians should hold governmental offices. They say . . . . that the duties of a magistrate and of a Christian do not agree, for the worldly governments must exercise vengeance, force and violence, but this is forbidden the believer under the New Testament dispensation (Rom. 12:17-21; Matt. 5:38-48). Finally they do not believe that they have sufficient courage and constancy to take upon themselves the various services and difficulties of this office without harm to their Christian life.

They are very strict as concerns the exercise of force and the use of weapons. While many other Mennonites are far more lenient on this point, the members of this group of churches still purport to be nonresistant Christians. They believe that a Christian may not even use force against such resistance as is contrary to law, but that he must forfeit his property, liberty, and life to his enemies when he is attacked. Therefore none of their members is allowed to have any weapons. The merchants among their number are not permitted to send freight on armed ships. Hence they confine their business mostly to points on the North Sea and the Baltic, instead of risking to send freight to places where, in the absence of provisions for defence, there is danger of falling prey to piracy.[51]

The catechism of Pieter Hendriks, minister of a Mennonite church at Sapmeer in Holland, was for the first time published in 1744, and was used in many of the Old Flemish churches. It has the following on the point of nonresistance:

> Since serving in offices of the government involves many dangers and is closely connected with retaliation and war, as well as with the oath, which Christ has forbidden, therefore His followers must consistently abstain from accepting such offices.[52]

A confession of faith published in 1747 by the Friesian Mennonite churches of Holland and intended for the use of candidates for church membership, contains the following sentences:

> I also believe that Christians cannot engage in war nor exercise vengeance against those who may have wronged them, but they must, according to Christ's example, bear the injustice and remember that vengeance is the Lord's.
>
> I believe that the office of the worldly magistracy cannot be

consistently held by Christians because it has to do with things named above which, I believe, Christ has forbidden His followers.[53]

In the catechism of the Friesian Mennonites in Holland, published in the same year, the twenty-third part *On Vengeance and War,* comprises 52 questions. Following is a translation of a few of the questions and answers of this part:

What is the third reason that a Christian is not permitted to meet violence with violence, or to engage in war or strife?

The express command of our Savior Himself: "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil" (Matt. 5:38, 39). He teaches here entire nonresistance and that we, rather than to use force for self-protection, turn the other cheek to him who has smitten us.

If war is forbidden the Christian, why did John the Baptist not testify against it but taught the soldiers to be content with their wages? (Luke 3:14).

If John the Baptist had forbidden the soldiers to do military service, he would have gone beyond his commission, because he was not the Christ. He came before the law of Christ was given (Gal. 6:2) and had no authority to give a new law.

Would not God's people be quickly destroyed from the earth if they did not resist evil?

No: for the Lord, who has taken upon Himself to protect them, is He who has the hearts of men, even the most ungodly, in His hands and He can direct them for the best of His people.

Does not the example of Paul (Acts 23:16-24) teach us that we may at least have a part in war by hiring other persons to serve as our substitutes?

By no means.

What are some of the practical lessons to be drawn?

That I should in my patience possess my soul (Luke 21:19) and follow my Savior in "a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price" (I Pet. 3:4); that if I am reviled, I revile not again, if I suffer I threaten not, but commit myself to Him that judgeth righteously. (I Pet. 2:22, 23).

What do you further learn from this?

That I must carefully shun everything that may lead to strife and enmity; that I must not take advantage or speak evil of any one or wrong him in any way.[54]

Gerhard Roosen, Pastor of the Mennonite church at Hamburg, Germany, published a *Confession of Faith,* in 1753, which contains the following paragraph:

> All these Scripture passages show conclusively that we cannot exercise vengeance against any one, nor resist evil by force, but should much rather bear and suffer the wrong that has been done us. We should esteem our neighbor's life more highly than our temporal possessions. "For this is thankworthy if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully" (I Pet. 2:19).[55]

The following is taken from a confession of the Old Flemish Mennonites of Groningen, Holland, printed in 1755:

> We believe that we must abstain from everything that is at variance with Christian nonresistance and humility, and therefore we prefer not to accept civil offices.
>
> War is contrary to Christian love which teaches us not to hate our enemies, but to love them, to bless them and pray for them.[56]

Cornelis Ris, pastor of the Mennonite church at Hoorn, in Holland, published, in 1766, a confession of faith of which the following is a part:

> From these Scriptures it is, in our opinion, quite clear that for a true follower of Jesus Christ it is inconsistent, unbecoming and not permissible to wield weapons of war to the destruction of our enemies, how much less can he injure and destroy the innocent ones who have not wronged us but upon whom in war often falls the burden of misery and woe. For it is, we believe, impossible that war, as we know it, can be carried on without open violation of the fundamental principles of Christ's kingdom and without harboring many vices and practices which indicate the nature of the devil and of wild beasts rather than that of the followers of the Lamb who are called to show forth His virtues (I Pet. 2:9).
>
> Besides, we believe that all malevolent treatment which we may experience is intended to exercise us in the faith and in the patience of the saints, as we follow the example of Jesus Christ. His holy apostles and many thousands of Christians in the early centuries and in later periods, when suffering for conscience' sake, experienced in this the grace of God making all things work together for their good. Such a peaceful, nonresistant life was moreover plainly prophesied for the subjects of Christ's kingdom.[57]

In the catechism of the Old Flemish Mennonites in Prussia, printed in 1768, the answer to the question, "May church members take part in military service?" is, "No, not by any means." The same catechism contains a confession of faith from which we quote Article 10:

Concerning vengeance we believe that our Saviour Jesus Christ in the sermon on the mount has altogether forbidden all vengeance and retaliation. He not only prohibited all vengeance to be taken at our own hand but also such as may be exercised through the authorities against one's enemies. While such vengeance [through the government] was permitted and even commanded those of the Old Covenant, we are called to follow Christ's example and footsteps in this matter. If some one reviles us or takes our goods, or resists or smites us, we as Christians must suffer and bear it with patience (I Pet. 2:21; II Cor. 11:10; I Cor. 4:11). And we understand that all going to law is forbidden. Rather than appealing to a court of law, we should yield to our opponent's demands, according to the example of the believers who took joyfully the spoiling of their goods (Heb. 10:34). Yea, according to the doctrine of our Saviour Jesus Christ, we must love our enemies, bless them that curse us, do good unto them that hate us and pray for those who despitefully use us and persecute us (Matt. 5:44), that we may be the children of our Father which is in heaven.[58]

The Mennonite catechism written by Jacob de Veer, of Danzig, and printed in 1791, has the following questions and answers:

May a member of the church take part in military service?

No, for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal but spiritual (II Cor. 10:3, 4; Eph. 6:12), and moreover it was foretold by the prophets concerning the time of the Gospel of grace that the swords should be made into plowshares and the spears into pruning hooks (Isa. 2:4; Micah 4:3). This concurs with the words of Jesus, Matt. 26:52.

Is it sufficient, however, that we avoid outward revenge?

No, but we must banish all thought of revenge from our minds and not even desire that evil may befall him who has harmed us, much less can we rejoice over it and feel that he deserved it because of the way he dealt with us.

Does such reasoning agree with Jesus' teaching?

Yes, for Jesus has taught us: Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that despitefully use you and persecute you (Matt. 5:44). And He has confirmed this by His own example, and on the cross He prayed for his enemies (Luke 23:34).[59]

The Nineteenth Century

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century the Mennonite people on the whole maintained, with various degrees of consistency, their historical anti-war attitude though the principle of nonresistance was not every-

where upheld among European Mennonites. In consequence of the Napoleonic wars Europe was militarized to a large extent during this century. Universal military service was generally introduced in continental Europe. With notable exceptions there was during this century among European Mennonites a gradual recession from their historic attitude on the point in question as well as on other points of principle and practice. Where the principle of nonresistance had been permitted to lapse, the way was prepared for the acceptance of military service. Many, however, whose conscience did not permit them to render such service, emigrated to America.

In the period from the third quarter of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the World War, Russia was the only European country in which the Mennonites were exempt from all military service. The Mennonite young men of military age were under duty to devote a number of years to forestry on state lands. This arrangement was entirely separate from the military organization; to accept it was therefore consistent with the profession of the principle of nonresistance.[60]

During the same period the Mennonites of Prussia and Baden were exempt from the so-called combatant service but were nevertheless under obligation to serve in the army.[61] In the rest of the German states and in other European countries, except Russia, no exemption was granted. Germany and her former allies, by the stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles, are now permitted only limited armies consisting solely of volunteers; hence in these countries conscientious objectors encounter no difficulties whatever at the present time.

After about the middle of the nineteenth century there is among the Mennonites of Holland no indication of adherence to the anti-war principle.[62] In recent years, however, this principle was revived in various Dutch Mennonite circles. A number of Mennonite young men, consequently, refused to take part in military drill and were taken to account by imprisonment.

While during the nineteenth century there was obviously an almost general decline on the part of European Mennonites on the point in question, there is conclusive evidence that during the first half of that century some of the European Mennonites, besides those of Russia and others who emigrated to America, continued to maintain the principle of nonresistance.

The Old Flemish Mennonite Church at Haarlem in Holland published, in 1825, a new edition of the catechism by Pieter Boudewyns which, in the previous century, had been in use in many churches. The following questions and answers are taken from this catechism.

Is serving in the office of the magistracy required of believers

under the New Dispensation, the same as under the Old?

No, for the kingdom of our King Jesus is not earthly but is a spiritual and heavenly kingdom and is therefore not of this world, as the Lord Jesus Himself declared, John 18:36. And we believe that we have no liberty to seek worldly rulership or to accept and serve in the office of the worldly government, since our spiritual King, Jesus, has expressly said unto His disciples: "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them and they that are great exercise authority upon them, but it shall not be so among you, but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant" (Matt. 20:25, 26).

Since it is stated in Scripture that "the powers that be" are ordained of God and that those who hold this office are God's servants (Rom. 13:1-6), why is it not consistent for believers to accept such an office?

Because the office of the government is ordained of God in the world but not in the Christian church. And indeed, those of whom Paul speaks as God's servants were at that time unbelievers. With the office of the government are connected various duties that do not well agree with the meek and nonresistant nature of the Christian. And it is certain that vengeance, with which the office of the government is connected, is forbidden the Christian, even as the Lord Jesus clearly teaches, Matt. 5:39.

Does this command (Matt. 5:39) not mean that personal revenge is forbidden rather than the vengeance exercised by the magistracies who do not avenge themselves but execute vengeance upon wrong-doers for the punishment of the wicked and the protection of the good?

No, it refers also in particular to the revenge exercised by the government. For private vengeance was not permitted the Jews. Vengeance was committed to their magistrates; and in contrast to the Mosaic law the Lord Jesus has said: "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth: But I say unto you that ye resist not evil." Jesus spoke these words in reference to the law of vengeance, as found in Ex. 21:25; Lev. 24:17-21; Deut. 19:21. These passages of Scripture refer to judicial vengeance, as is clear from the context. Now, the Lord Jesus, in contrast with the law of the Old Covenant, forbids the believers vengeance and resistance. This, then, is an additional reason that it cannot be consistent for the believer to serve in the office of the government. Therefore

we do not feel at liberty to desire such offices or to serve in them.

What does this teach us further?

That we must shun all offices which are connected with judicial authority having for their purpose vengeance and punishment of transgressors. We should leave all these things to the worldly authorities and their servants, and should prove ourselves obedient subjects and meek, nonresistant Christians.

May Christians, then, not use violence or go to war, as did the Israelites?

The kingdom of God is not earthly but is a spiritual and heavenly kingdom. And the conflict of the Christian is not against flesh and blood, or with carnal weapons. "For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal" (II Cor. 10:4). And how can Christians who must love their enemies and do good unto them, be disposed to injure or kill them, or for the temporal reward serve in an office involving such things? We believe therefore that to wage war or to do military service is inconsistent with the profession and duties of a Christian.

But how is it then possible that Christians are not deprived of body and life, goods and possessions and that the little flock of nonresistant Christians can exist at all upon earth?

The first is not always possible, and the Christians have often to endure much oppression, spoiling of goods, grief and suffering, as the Lord Jesus has indeed foretold them. But as concerns the second part of the question, it should be said that the persecutors and wicked can not do all that they may desire but they stand under the power and restraint of Almighty God who can put a ring in the nose of the tyrants and who will not permit the scepter of iniquity to wholly suppress and destroy His people. Thus also in the Apostles' time Christians were at times oppressed and persecuted and then again permitted to enjoy rest and quietness. And Christians also have liberty to flee to places where they may be exposed to less dangers, for Jesus said to His desciples: "If they persecute you in one city, flee into another" (Matt. 10:23). And it has pleased God now and again so to direct worldly governments that they have not only permitted nonresistant Christians to live in their realms but have also protected them from their enemies and oppressors.

Is it not altogether possible to transgress against Christian love and nonresistance without using violence and weapons?

Certainly, namely when one, out of revenge, shows himself partial, vindictive, unforgiving, hard, and unmerciful toward his neighbor, and would thus either secretly or openly retaliate for injury, real

or imaginary. This is clearly inconsistent with Christian duty and love, since we must love and do good not only to our friends but to our enemies as well (Matt. 5:43, 44). It does not suffice for Christians to refrain from using vengeance but they must forgive injury (Matt. 6:14, 15) and overcome evil with good (Rom. 12:21). And finally one transgresses against the principle of nonresistance by using inconsiderate words, by evil speaking, tale-bearing against his neighbor, by wishing him evil and the like, contrary to the teaching of Peter (I Pet. 2:21-23; 3:9), or by speaking angrily or with bitterness against his neighbor. All these things are inconsistent with Christian meekness and are expressly forbidden in Scripture.

What does this teach us?

This teaches us that we must in no way, neither in word nor in deed, transgress against Christian revengelessness and nonresistance, but must in every respect conduct ourselves as meek and nonresistant Christians loving not only our friends and benefactors but also our enemies and injurers. We must do them well and pray for them, keeping continuously before our eyes the perfect example of our Savior and striving to follow Him, and thus give evidence that we are Christians and children of peace who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit and live in love and peace with all men as far as possible, that we may not only in name but also in deed and in truth be meek, nonresistant Christians.[63]

A confession of faith of the Mennonites of Prussia, written by Gerhard Wiebe, of Ellerwald near Elbing, in 1792, was reprinted at Elbing in 1837. Article 10 of this confession contains the following paragraph:

From these passages of Scripture we see that all revenge is forbidden us; therefore we must not use the sword against our enemies. Paul says, II Cor. 10:3, 4: "Though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh. For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal but mighty through God." And since the Lord Jesus has commanded Peter to put up his sword into the sheath, we must not draw it to defend ourselves against our enemies, or to meet violence with violence but we should rather bear and suffer it.

We must not only avoid the sword of war, but our heart should not yield to revengefulness. We should "follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth" (Rev. 14:4), not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing, but be still and bless our enemies if we would inherit a blessing.[64]

In April, 1863, Heinrich Ensz, a Mennonite minister in South Russia,

wrote in a letter to Johann Toews, a minister of a Mennonite church near Elbing in Prussia:

> If nonresistance is supposed to mean nothing more than the refusal to do military service (as is held by many whose lives, alas! agree with this opinion), we have a glaring inconsistency. There is at the present time the greatest need for efforts by word and pen to the end that we may all realize that our nonresistance must prove itself in our daily life and walk. There must be practical evidence of the love which we should have one to another which is the particular mark of discipleship.
>
> We know that even before the time of Menno Simons, yea from the Apostles' time there were always those, though few in number, who were conscientious Christians and who not only testified before the authorities to the plain and simple teaching of the Scriptures on the point of nonresistance but gave evidence of the sincerity of their profession by an unblamable daily life following faithfully unto death, as nonresistant Christians, in the footsteps of our Lord Jesus, "who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not."
>
> Therefore it is our most ardent desire that, for the best interests of us all, immediate efforts be put forth to the end that we may in all consistency and in lowliness lead quiet and nonresistant lives, that it may not be said of us: They say it but do not do it. But if, as is stated in letters from Prussia, one avenges himself on another and it so happened that one was severely struck by another so that it might have cost his life; if one goes to law with another for the sake of earthly things, bringing law suits before worldly authorities which is radically contrary to Christ's teaching (Matt. 5; Luke 6; Rom. 12; I Cor. 6), how can the government believe us that we are nonresistant Mennonites, contrary to the evidence indicating that we are filled with the spirit of retaliation? Friend Toews, you undoubtedly know that the holy Scriptures demand consistency and that resistance can in no point be permitted (Matt. 7:12). If we in every respect lived in humility of heart and were upright, pious and nonresistant, as our confession of faith demands, how faithfully would our civil authorities, as well as your honored government which is animated by a real spirit of toleration, speak a good word for us to those who, on account of our inconsistencies, begrudge us our liberties.[65]

A Few Historical Incidents

In the year 1569 a pious and faithful brother and follower of Jesus Christ, named Dirck Willems, of Asperen in Holland, was apprehended

and burned at the stake because he had been baptized on the confession of his faith. The officer making the arrest had pursued the fleeing man to a frozen dyke. Willems had crossed in safety. The officer following him broke through the ice. When Willems perceived that his pursuer was in danger of his life, he quickly returned and aided him in getting out, thus saving his life. The officer's heart was touched and he wanted to let him go, but the burgomaster very sternly called on him from the other side to consider his oath, whereupon Willems was seized by the officer and, after severe imprisonment and great trials, was put to death as stated above, in May, 1569, giving his life in testimony of the truth.[66]

Some time during the early part of the seventeenth century a Mennonite minister, Peter Adrians Houttuyn, of Hoorn, was one night awakened by a disturbance made by a burglar whom he noticed in the second story of his house. Going to the foot of the stairs he called to the thief above: "Friend, come down, you will not be harmed." The thief came down and Houttuyn said to him: "Call on me tomorrow morning and I shall talk further with you." The man who had broken into his house was in great need. He was on the following day engaged as a worker in the warehouse of the one he had been attempting to rob, and served his employer faithfully for about twenty-five years.[67]

When, in 1759, the French army under Count de Stainville had defeated the Prussians led by von Buelow, they encamped near the cloister Schaken, in Waldeck. Their commander sent his aide-de-camp, named Stadler, with a detachment of soldiers in search for forage for the horses. They stopped in a village at the house of a Mennonite farmer whom they ordered to show them a field of barley which they could use as pasture for their horses. "For what reason," he asked, "must I go foraging with you?" "There is a good reason," was the reply, "namely that we shall compel you." The officer brandished his sword before the man's face, saying: "Does this make it any clearer?" "I am not afraid of your weapon," said the farmer quietly, "but come with me, for God has said: 'If any man will take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.' " He walked ahead of them, leading them through a grove and along various round-about ways for a long distance. When he stopped, Stadler said to him: "It seems to me we have passed a number of fields of barley; why have you not led us to them?" "Because they were the property of others," he replied, "but here is a field that belongs to me,—let your horses go into it and eat their fill."[68]

In the time of the persecution in Switzerland, especially in the Emmenthal, in the Canton Bern, during the eighteenth century, a number of unprincipled young fellows came at midnight to an old Mennonite min-

ister's home and, to try his faith, began to tear off and destroy the roof of the house. The noise which they made by this deed of darkness awakened the minister from his slumbers. He at once arose and with dismay beheld the work of destruction going on. What did this man of God (for such he proved himself to be) do? No doubt the scene stirred his heart to righteous indignation, but he did not act upon the impulse. He remembered what attitude he, as a Christian, should take under such circumstances. Silently praying he returned to the bedroom and said to his wife: "Mother, get up, prepare breakfast, for workmen have come to us." Quickly a breakfast was prepared and meanwhile the marauders continued their malicious work of destruction upon the roof. Then the aged minister went out and called them saying: "You have worked long, and no doubt are hungry; now come in and eat." To these men it seemed too good a thing that they should eat the bread of the taunted man, but they slowly came from the roof into the house and sat down at the table. Then the old patriarch bared his venerable head, folded his hands—and the marauders? —they sat in silence. Then he prayed so fervently, so lovingly and so earnestly, both for them and for himself, that their hearts were softened and their conscience awakened. They became heartily ashamed of what they had done. The meal did not seem to taste good to them. Soon they arose and went again to the roof, not indeed to finish their work of destruction but to reconstruct the roof the best they could, that the fiery coals which had been gathered upon their heads might fall therefrom.[69]

Appendix

A confession written in June, 1527, by a minister of the Swiss Brethren, named Carlin, who was imprisoned for his faith in Basel, has the following article:

> That the government is ordained of God and that the power is of God is stated by Paul in his letter to the Romans, chapter 13. Besides, Christ said that the power of Pilate was of God (John 19: 11). But according to the command of the Father (Matt. 17:5) we should hear Christ, the Son of God, alone. Since, now, Christ fled when He was to be chosen king, also He did not pass sentence upon the adulterous woman, and would not judge between two men in matters pertaining to earthly possessions (Luke 12:14), and His kingdom is not of this world (John 18:30); moreover nowhere in Scripture is the government said to be of a Christian nature and it is not the Christians' province to judge those that are without (I Cor. 5:12, 13), but Christians should use church discipline alone; therefore, according to Christ's example it is not in place for a Christian

to be a magistrate, but he should avoid all that is doubtful and shun the office of the magistracy. But this does not say that the government should be abolished.[70]

NOTES

32. The Waterland Mennonite churches were the least conservative of the Mennonites of Holland and North Germany. At that early period they strictly maintained the principle of nonresistance, as did all other Mennonite groups. Hans de Ries is favorably known as the principal defender of the deity of Christ against the (unitarian) Socinians.
33. This confession may be found in Schijn-Maatschoen, *Geschiedenis der Christenen welke in de Vereenigde Nederlanden onder de Protestanten Mennoniten Genaamd worden.* I Deel, Amsterdam 1743, pp. 238-279. McGlothlin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith,* pp. 24-48, contains an English version which, however, is not translated from the original Dutch but from an unsatisfactory Latin translation.
34. This was the Confession of the so-called High German Mennonites in Holland. A complete translation is found in van Braght, *Martyrs' Mirror,* pp. 32-36.
35. The Confession in use among a majority of the Mennonites in the United States.
36. Blaupot ten Cate, S., *Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Holland, Zeeland, etc.,* I Deel, Amsterdam, 1847, p. 158.
37. *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen,* Verzameld en Uitgegeven door Dr. de Hoop Scheffer, Amsterdam, 1847, p. 158.
38. Dyserinck, in *De Gids,* 1890, p. 145. The contrast between the Mennonite attitude and that of state church Protestantism on the question of the use of force in self-defense is illustrated by the following quotation from Melanchthon taken from his preface to Luther's booklet *"On Self-defense"*: "At the time when Alexander Macedon had conquered the city of Thebes [in Egypt] by storm, a lady of a noble family was in the city. An officer took possession of her residence and the lady was in danger as concerned her honor and possessions. She received him graciously. A bountiful table was set for him and his companions. Her hospitality pleased the officer. But, having noticed the wealth of the home he, after a sumptuous meal, asked for money and other valuables. The lady replied courteously that she was willing to show him the place where these things could be found; she had thrown her valuables into a well within her residence, she said, and there they may find them. This well she would show the officer alone. Then the officer went with her to the well. As he stood looking down, the lady suddenly pushed him that he fell into the deep well, and then she, with her maidens, threw down stones killing the officer. Such examples show that the God-given natural light of reason judges that self-defense in need is right and proper. Therefore there is no doubt that such self-defense is for every one a rightful act and, if exercised by a believer, it is pleasing to God. For the Gospel allows the exercise of natural rights in accordance with common law." Luther's *Erklerung von der Frage, die Nothwehr belangend,* having the preface of Melanchthon from which this citation is taken, was printed at Wittenberg, in 1547.
39. Quoted in *Christelijck Huys-Boeck, Over de Volghende Artijckelen des Christelijcken Gheloofs, etc.,* Vergadert door I. D. B. (1643), p. 549.
40. *Ibid.,* p. 744.
41. Quoted by Twisck, *op. cit.,* p. 420.
42. Quoted by Mannhardt, *Appendix,* p. 27.
43. Quoted by Dyserinck in *De Gids,* 1890, p. 304.
44. Quoted by Mannhardt, *Appendix,* p. 31.
45. *Korte Grondstellingen van de Christelyke Leere der Doopsgezinden,* Amsterdam, 1699, p. 30.

46. *Verdediging der Christenen die Doopsgezinde genaamd worden,* Amsterdam, 1699, p. 74.
47. Dyserinck, in *De Gids,* 1890, p. 144.
48. *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen,* 1909, p. 154.
49. Quoted by Mannhardt, *Appendix,* p. 39.
50. Quoted by Dyserinck in *De Gids,* 1890, p. 309.
51. Rues, S. F., *Aufrichtige Nachrichten von dem Gegenwaertigen Zustande der Mennoniten oder Taufgesinnten,* Jena, 1743, pp. 23-26.
52. Hendriks, P., *Schriftuurlyke Katechismus waarin de Grond-Lere der Doopsgezinden in't gemeen, dog der zogenoemde Oude Vlamingen in't byzonder, met den Woorde Gods open gelegt is,* Groningen, 1744, p. 285.
53. *Kort Begrip van de Leere der Waarheyt Volgens het Gevoelen der Doops-Gesinde Christenen, etc.,* Uytgegeven volgens Kerkelyke Resolutie, Amsterdam, 1747, p. 359.
54. *Ibid.,* pp. 263-271.
55. Roosen, G., *Evangelisches Glaubens-Bekaendtnisz der Tauff-Gesinnten Christen oder also genandten Mennoniten.* Gedruckt im Jahr Christi 1753, p. 35.
56. Quoted by Mannhardt, *Appendix,* p. 51.
57. Ris, C., *De Geloofsleere der waare Mennoniten of Doopsgezinden,* Hoorn, 1766, pp. 142-144. A translation of this work was published under the title *Mennonite Articles of Faith,* by the Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Ind., 1904.
58. *Confession, oder Kurtzer und einfaeltiger Glaubens-Bericht der Alten Flaemischen Tauff-Gesinneten Gemeinde in Preussen,* Gedruckt im Jahr 1768, pp. 92 and 26.
59. Quoted by Mannhardt, *Appendix,* p. 54.
60. At the beginning of the World War the church leaders of the Mennonites of Russia published a proclamation suggesting that as many of their young men as would be inclined to do so, volunteer for noncombatant service. Many followed this advice and enlisted in the hospital department of the army. Compare the article, *Die Suedrussischen Mennoniten in der Kriegs- und Revolutionszeit,* in *Christlicher Bundesbote,* Berne, Ind., July 22, 1920. The more conservative Mennonites of Russia emigrated to America in the years 1874 to 1878.
61. "When the mobilization order was issued in Prussia, in 1914, scarcely one fourth of the Mennonite men drafted availed themselves of the privilege granted them by the government. The great majority chose 'combatant' service. To a very marked extent the principle of nonresistance had been permitted to lapse during the preceding half century."—*Mennonitische Blaetter,* 1917, No. 1. (Translated.)
62. The church at Balk in Friesland maintained the principle of nonresistance longer than any other Dutch Mennonite congregation. Their elder (bishop) R. J. Smit, with a number of the families of his congregation, emigrated to America in 1853 for conscientious reasons. They settled in Elkhart County, Indiana, and eventually united with the Salem Mennonite Church.
63. *Onderwyzinge des Christelyken Geloofs, Volgens de Belydenis der Christenen die men de Oude Vlaamsche Mennoniten noemt, Waarin derzelver Leere en Gemeentelyke Huishoudinge Schriftmatig voorgestelt en bewezen word.* Door Pieter Boudewyns, Sneek, 1825, pp. 276-292.
64. Quoted by Mannhardt, *Appendix,* p. 56.
65. The letter was printed in *Botschafter der Wahrheit,* Hillsboro, Kansas, December 1, 1926.
66. Van Braght, *Martyrs' Mirror,* p. 710.
67. Dyserinck, in *De Gids,* 1890, p. 161.
68. *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen,* 1872, p. 94.
69. Ellenberger, J., *Bilder aus dem Pilgerleben,* 1880, p. 126.
70. Oecolampadius, J., *Underrichtung von dem Widertauff, von der Oberkeit, und von dem Eyd, auff Carlins N. Widertauffers artickel,* Basel, 1527, sig. D3.

Pacifism Among the Mennonites, Amish Mennonites and Schwenkfelders of Pennsylvania to 1783

Wilbur J. Bender

II.

For the most part the non-resistants had little sympathy with the anti-English agitation which began when the Peace of Paris in 1763 removed the French threat from the North American continent, thus allowing the British authorities to draw the strings of Colonial administration tighter. They had little sympathy with the anti-English agitation, just as they had little sympathy with any political agitation.[80] Their one venture into politics had been a failure. Their leaders continuously preached living a "retired life",—being "separate from the world". They were to be a "separate" people[81] and to let the world of kings and wars and political theory take care of itself. Their religion, their farms and their home communities occupied their time—a people turned in upon themselves and God. Moreover, being farmers, the laws so offensive to merchant and shipowner affected them little. They had done well, economically, under British rule and saw no reason to change. They had experienced a longer period of quiet than in any previous period in their history. They had become economically and culturally self-sufficient under a government which bothered them not at all. Why should they wish to change? And they distrusted and disliked the radical, poverty-stricken, frontier element which was almost a unit in attacking England.[82] The mere fact that this type of person was anti-British would tend to prejudice conservative, peaceful farmers in favor of the Crown. A positive link uniting them to the royal cause was the Promise of Allegiance they had taken when they became citizens. This solemn promise had great weight among them; to break it was an extremely serious thing.[83] They felt also that they owed their homes in America and their privileges to the British crown. A successful revolution might take away those privileges. And, above all, their pacifist principles would make them try to avoid any course leading to war.[84]

This does not mean that they were pro-British in the ordinary sense of the term. In all their history Schwenkfelders, and more especially Mennonites and Amish, have taken little active part in government. They were content to let some one else rule as long as they were undisturbed.[85] Their ignorance of the English language made it difficult to follow the fine-spun and often fallacious theorizings of the patriot orators. Their genius was religious and agricultural, not political. So it is inconceivable

that they should have taken violent sides in the struggle, just as it is inconceivable that the English and Scotch-Irish should not have.[86] Politically they were not individualists; they followed quite docilely their leaders, and their leaders were of the Quaker party.[87] Of course there were individuals actively engaged on each side of the controversy, but such conduct was frowned on by the majority. On the whole, the weight of their influence was cast on the conservative, pro-British side. But it was a very passive sort of pro-Britishism. They wanted peace above all else. Therefore, and quite simply, they opposed war.

The actual outbreak of hostilities changed matters considerably. Would their peace principles be respected, or would they again suffer as they had in the old country, and would they once more be forced to take up their travels? It was to be expected that many, if not most, of the patriots would interpret their anti-war sentiment as Toryism. As time went on, however, and the patriots saw that the pacifist sects did not actively support the British cause, they were regarded more tolerantly. At no time does there seem to have been the feeling against them that there was against the out and out Tories. Most of their neighbors knew them as peaceable, harmless folk, and the patriot leaders, generally well acquainted with their beliefs, adopted a considerate policy.[88]

When the news of Lexington and Concord reached Philadelphia, early in May, 1775, the most ardent patriots organized companies of soldiers, called "associators," to resist the coercive measures of the British. Although these militia bodies were voluntary and unofficial, the Colonial Assembly provided them with arms and ammunition. It also appointed a Committee of Public Safety with power of control over the associators and of generally providing for the defense of the province against invasion and insurrection. The Committee immediately prepared articles of government for the associations in order to bring them under the control of the Province. But the associators refused to submit to the proposed plan of government because many persons who were rich and able to perform military duty were exempted on the ground of conscientious scruples. They insisted that the Assembly make military service compulsory and require those who were conscientiously opposed to pay a sum of money. This the Assembly refused to do. It was still ostensibly loyal to the Crown, and probably a majority of the people were opposed to any radical, overt act. The clamor for universal conscription came only from a radical minority. As the vote of the Assembly indicates, the conservative, peace-desiring element was still in control.[89]

The stream of events was moving rapidly, however, towards an open break with England, carrying public opinion with it. Outside the As-

sembly the struggle was carried on as well, and considerable tension developed between the radicals and the non-Associators, Mennonites, Moravians, Quakers, Dunkards and others.[90] In Lancaster County feeling broke out into open violence and the County Committee of Inspection and Observation found it necessary on May 29, 1775, to emit a broadside against mob disturbances on the part of the rabid "patriots".[91]

"The Committee, having received information that divers persons whose religious tenets forbid their forming themselves into military associations have been maltreated by some violent and ill disposed people in the county of Lancaster, notwithstanding their willingness to contribute cheerfully to the common cause otherwise than by bearing arms, . . . " proceeds to discourage such mob spirit.[92]

On June 30th the Assembly was forced to take action. Since " . . . many of the Good People of this Province are conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms, [it] further recommended to the associators for the defense of their country, and others, that they bear a tenderly and brotherly Regard toward this class of their fellow Subjects and Countrymen."[93] To the conscientious people it was suggested that, " . . . . they cheerfully assist in proportion to their abilities such associators as can not spend their time and substance in the Publick Service without great injury to themselves."[94]

The Continental Congress, itself, then sitting in Philadelphia, passed a resolution on July 18th, "as there are some people who from religious principles can not bear arms in any case, this Congress intend no violence to their consciences, but earnestly, recommend it to them to *Contribute Liberally,* in this time of universal calamity, to the relief of their distressed brethren in the several colonies, and to do all other services to their oppressed country which they can, consistently with their religious principles."[95]

During the next session of the Assembly the question was at a fever heat. Petitions poured in from both sides. On October 27th one was presented from the Meeting for Sufferings of the Pennsylvania Friends, recalling their historic reasons for coming to Pennsylvania and the guarantees given for religious freedom at the time.[96] This called forth a prompt protest from a "Committee of Philadelphia Patriots", trying to disprove the Quaker's position historically.[97] The remonstrance further stated that the present aspect of the pacifists was unfriendly to the liberties of America and destructive of society and government, alleging that, "these gentlemen want to withdraw their persons and their fortunes from the service of their country at a time when their country stands most in need of them."

October 31st, two more petitions were received, typical of the anti-pacifist feeling; one was from the Officers of the Military Association of Philadelphia and the other from the Privates of the Military Association.[98] Both protested against the too easy handling of the non-associators, complaining that the people of religious scruples were few compared to those who, "made conscience a convenience". Lenience to the lukewarm was denounced as nothing less than a fatal mistake. There spoke the authentic voice of America—the faint foreshadowing of the Twentieth Century American who would stand every Hun of a yellow pacifist up against a wall, any wall, and shoot him.

Pacifists, on the other hand, had not been entirely silent. Besides the Quaker petition mentioned above, a meeting of representatives of various non-resistant groups, held at Reading, in Berks County, on September 1st, had sent to the Committee of Safety copies of a Resolution[99] in which they agreed to collect voluntary subscriptions for the purposes recommended by the Assembly on June 30th and the Congress on July 18th, and to send the money to the Committee of Safety for disposal. William Reeser, President of the meeting, stated in his accompanying letter that they were conscientiously scrupulous of taking arms, though fully sensible of the justice of the American cause and willing to contribute to its support.[100] Very probably this meeting voiced the sentiments of Schwenkfelders and Moravians, though there is no definite evidence on the point, and there may have been some Mennonites and Dunkards represented there.[101]

Moved by the same fear of being forced to join the militia associations, the Mennonites, with whom the German Baptists (Dunkards) associated themselves also, presented a petition to the Assembly. It was read in the House, Nov. 7, 1775, and "most graciously received".[102] They gratefully acknowledged past favors of the government and declared their desire to be as accommodating as possible within the limits of their consciences.

"The Advice to those who do not find Freedom of Conscience to take up Arms, that they ought to be helpfull to those who are in Need and distressed circumstances, we receive with Chearfulness towards all men of what Station they may be—it being our Principle to feed the Hungry and give the Thirsty Drink;—we have dedicated ourselves to serve all Men in every Thing that can be helpful to the Preservation of Men's Lives, but we find no Freedom in giving, or doing, or assisting in any Thing by which Men's Lives are destroyed or hurt. . . . We are always ready, according to Christ's command to Peter, to pay the Tribute. . . . And so we are willing to pay Taxes. . . . We are also willing to be subject to the higher Powers, and to give in the manner Paul directs

us; . . . [but] we are not at Liberty in Conscience to take up Arms to conquer our Enemies, but rather to pray to God, who has Power in Heaven and on Earth, for Us and Them."[103]

Taxes and tribute they would pay, as the Bible commanded, but take up arms they could not. Tactfully, yet firmly and unmistakably they stated their position.

The same day the Mennonites presented their petition the matter was finally settled. The Assembly resolved that with a few exceptions, all persons between the ages of fifteen and sixty-three, who were capable of bearing arms, and did not enroll themselves among the associators must pay a fine of two pounds, and ten shillings annually.[104] Thus was laid down the fundamental principle on which military service was exacted in Pennsylvania throughout the Revolution—those who refused to serve in the militia must pay a monetary equivalent.[105] This also became the precedent for the provision in the Federal Draft Act of the Civil War which permitted escaping service in the army by paying a sum of money or hiring a substitute.

Such a settling of the question was at least a partial victory for the militarists. Growing anti-British feeling and the logic of events had forced the conservative element in the Assembly to accede to the program of a clamorous and powerful minority.[106] It was the usual story of an organized minority knowing what it wanted and getting it. The conservative mass of the people was unorganized, inarticulate and more or less indifferent while the group which pushed the measure through was determined and militant.[107] On a much larger scale, the whole Revolution was a similar process. Although, on the whole, the Assembly was anti-British, it was not radically so and it wished to protect the non-associators from the excesses of the military party.[108] It constantly yielded to the wishes of the Committee of Safety and the associators, though unwilling to proceed to extreme measures. It yielded from necessity, not from reason, for most of its members were opposed to the radicals and probably believed in the possibility of a reconciliation with Great Britain.[109] This is proved by the fact that the Revolutionary leaders continually distrusted and opposed the Assembly and, finally, by illegal methods, established a new government in which very few of the old members were included.[110]

Nevertheless this conservative assembly, sympathetic to the Quakers and the pacifists generally, was persuaded to pass a law taxing the non-resistants for not joining the Militia. It seemed to them, no doubt, not particularly harsh, but a reasonable compromise, as indeed it was. Like most compromises, however, it satisfied neither party. For a moderate, or even a heavy tax is not an equivalent to actual military service with its

rigors and dangers. Consequently the associators were dissatisfied and continually complained and petitioned for the imposition of greater penalties and their stricter enforcement on the non-associators.[111] In this they were, from one point of view, unreasonable. The Revolution was a civil war and a large part, probably a majority, of the people were actively or passively opposed to the self-styled patriots.[112] It would seem that one faction should not expect the other to fight against its own views or contribute enthusiastically to a movement to which it was opposed. In the Civil War, for instance, southern sympathizers in the border states were not expected to join the Union armies or to contribute to their support. The most that could be done was to require them to remain passive and not to aid the enemy. On the other hand, the very fact that it was a civil war, and a war prosecuted by a minority, made it necessary for that minority to adopt sterner methods in order to retain its control.[113] The law, moreover, was aimed not only at pacifists but also at that large section of the population which was simply indifferent and who would, following the path of least resistance, now line up with the "patriots". Besides, if the rebellion were defeated, the rebels would suffer the penalty, while the non-associators would be favored; if it was successful, non-associators would receive the benefits as well as the revolutionists. Therefore this attempt to equalize the burden by penalizing pacifists and loyalists for refusing to co-operate against England, was very natural and, from the radical point

Nevertheless it was opposed by a majority of the pacifists. Many of the Mennonites and Quakers felt that to pay a fine or a special tax for the support of war was as inconsistent with their religious principles as to enlist in the army for actual service.[114] Contributing to a warring government money with which powder and arms could be purchased was only killing at second hand.[115] Besides many felt that the royal government was still the rightful one—to it they had promised allegiance.[116] It was sinful to pay money to a revolutionary government, a government which was not only not the lawful one but which would probably be overthrown eventually by the British forces.

On the other hand, it was in accordance with pacifist principles and tradition to pay taxes and tribute to the state without murmur.[117] The Bible commanded rendering unto Caesar what was his own. And paying taxes was not quite the same thing as actually bearing arms. That they absolutely would not do. But paying money was not so clear an issue. Those who paid the tax were not responsible for the use to which it was put. And they could not very well cease all tax payments. If they refused to pay voluntarily the authorities would probably come and collect by force,—force which they could not conscientiously resist. However they

looked at it, the question was a vexatious one.

Could non-resistants conscientiously and consistently pay the fines for not bearing arms and the special war taxes which were imposed later? The answer varied. The Quakers seem to have most consistently refused to pay. Since they were usually quite wealthy, their property was seized instead, to which they offered no resistance. The Schwenkfelders, on the other hand, seem to have had no scruples against it.[118] Christopher Schultz, one of their leading men, writes in a letter to Germany in 1777:[119]

"The demands, injunctions and forcible exertions can scarcely be told which continually plague those who do not blow the horn of the war party. Heavy fines are imposed for the non-performance of military service. In spite of all this, we have not allowed ourselves to be forced into the war." And again in 1779,[120] "The War Party has thus far not succeeded in forcing any of our people to enter the military lines, although all males between 18-53 were enrolled in the militia classes, but exorbitant sums must be paid to escape such services." They refused to bear arms, but they satisfied the monetary demands of the officials.[121]

Just how Mennonites and Amish answered the question is not quite certain. Their attitude seems to have varied with the locality. It is certain that at least some of the Mennonites paid fines, for the records of the war officials at the time report fines collected in Lancaster and Chester Counties, for example, from persons with such indubitably Mennonite names as Funk, Stauffer, Hertzler and Holdeman.[122] Yet Christian Funk, a Mennonite minister of Montgomery County, asserts that[123] "The majority of the ministers in the western part of Montgomery County were opposed to the payment of a new war tax of two pounds and ten shillings which had been levied in 1777." Probably where fines and special war taxes were strictly exacted, the Mennonites paid them without too much protest, although an occasional individual may have stood out resolutely against payment.[124] But in many communities the officials were careless or lenient, or even definitely hostile to such exactions.[125] There, of course, they would not be collected.

Although there was difference of opinion as to the rightfulness of paying fines and war taxes, Mennonites and Amish were almost unanimously agreed in the matter of taking the oath of allegiance. Trouble over the oath arose because of an act of the Assembly passed June 13, 1777.[126] A new revolutionary government had displaced the old royal one, and it now required all male, white inhabitants over eighteen years of age to take the "Oath of Renunciation and Allegiance"—renunciation of the royal government and allegiance to the new revolutionary one. Those not taking the oath were declared incapable of serving on juries, sueing

for debts, voting or holding office, buying or selling lands, tenements or hereditaments, and possessing arms. Every one travelling outside his own city or county without having taken the oath was to be clapped in jail till he took it.[127] Mennonites, in common with most of the sects, objected to this oath, not only on general principles, but also because they had promised allegiance to the king at an earlier date and feared perjuring themselves.[128] Because of their objection to oaths they were always most cautious about making promises.[129] They feared that taking the oath might somehow involve them in actual opposition to the Crown. Many, therefore, refused to take it; and some who did were excommunicated from the church.[130] The Revolutionary authorities, however, did not enforce the act very strictly and seem to have been particularly lenient to the peaceful sects.[131] Administration varied with the locality, of course. The central officials generally tried to administer the act so as to cause as little trouble as possible to the Mennonites.[132] They were engaged in a life and death struggle and took pains not to antagonize needlessly any neutrals, especially when they were sure that they need fear no attack from them. A local official in Lancaster County wrote to Vice-President Bryan in 1778, the following illuminating letter, which pictures well the situation.[133]

"I have been in several parts of three counties and find in all great complaints made by Mennonites and Quakers of the Oath of Allegiance now required of its subjects as including an obligation to fight, contrary to their known principles. They say, a good many at least, that they would *affirm* to be faithful subjects of the state, endeavoring nothing to its hurt, but discover all they knew doing so, etc.,—in consistence with their principles against bearing arms. To require more of them, they say, is persecution, and though the Constitution promises the rights of subjects to all denominations, presently oaths are required which they cannot take unless otherwise qualified without renouncing their principles, and they are sincere in their profession. I find some of our sensible Whigs say that an oath of allegiance suited to these people's known sentiments might increase the Friends of the State and lessen the warm discontents of many, and then levy more from them than others under the name of a Tax for the use of the State, but not fines, as they would enjoy greater advantages by not bearing arms, and such as refuse qualifications so framed would have no excuse but appear plainly to be enemies." At least one of the officials understood the pacifist psychology.

The Supreme Executive Council wrote to Col. Wetzel, May, 1778, in a similar wisely tolerant vein,[134]

"The Moravians and the Schwenkfelders have been very urgent with Assembly to relax the Test and free them from the Abjuration Act. The

claim of the King of Great Britain forbids anything being done like this at present. When that Prince shall renounce his claim it will be time enough to reconsider the Test. However, as these people are not to be feared, either as to numbers or malice, it is the wish of the government not to distress them by any unequal fines or by calling them without special occasion happens, to take the oath at all. The disabilities ensueing upon their own neglect are heavy and will, without further pressing which may be termed vigor by people in general, and persecution by themselves, operate strongly against them. On these grounds we wish it understood that Council and Assembly desires to avoid any noises from the people above mentioned and to have them dealt with as others in regard to the delinquency in the militia."[135]

It is evident from the various changes that were made in the requirement of the oath that there was disagreement among the authorities as to the best course to pursue. The oath was designed, in the first place,[136] to separate the sheep from the goats, Patriots from Tories—to force people to take a definite stand. It was expected to cement more firmly the loyalty of the patriots as well as to secure at least the nominal adherence to the new government of the lukewarm and the neutral. Just how severe to make the penalties for refusing the oath without defeating its purpose by too great stringency, was the problem. The first act did not prove entirely satisfactory, for April 1, 1778, the penalties were greatly increased in severity by a requirement that anyone not subscribing to the Oath before June 1st, next, should, in addition to all previous disabilities become incapable of taking any action in course of law or equity, of being a guardian, executor or administrator, of receiving a legacy, deed, or gift or of making a will or testament.[137] Double taxes and a fine of ten pounds and costs were also assessed against the non-jurors.[138] Finally, if this proved insufficient to extract a verbal sign of loyalty to the government, the recalcitrant one was to be exiled from the state and his lands and tenements given to the next of kin who was willing to take the oath.[139] Thus the rebel government bribed people to take its side by the proffer of loyalist property.

This act, however, proved far too severe to accomplish its purpose; many local officials refused to administer it. Perhaps it was never intended to be used except as a threat. On December 5th, 1778, then, the requirements were greatly softened when it was ordered that all penalties, incapacities and disabilities resulting from not taking the Oath, should cease, except electing or holding office and serving on juries[140]—"all of which privileges", as the scribe of the pacifist Moravian congregation at Lititz records, "we never troubled ourselves about."[141] This was a swing to too

great leniency, and in October, 1779, the former penalties were restored, with the additional provision of perpetual exclusion from the privileges and benefits of citizenship.[142] It should be noted that all these penalties would bear much harder on the ordinary Loyalists, who were frequently business men and wealthy and so had much to do with law, politics and the courts, than it would on the rural pacifists. No doubt they were aimed chiefly at the prominent and numerous non-pacifist Loyalists and affected the pacifists only incidentally. At any rate, it seems probable that most Mennonites and Amish did not take the oath and that, with exception of individuals and of particular localities,[143] they did not suffer much from the prescribed penalties.[144]

The story of the Funkite schism throws considerable light on conditions among the Mennonites at this time. Funk's little book[145] is almost the only revealing evidence left by a contemporary Mennonite. Christian Funk was a prominent Mennonite preacher in Montgomery County. At the outset of the war he, like all the other Mennonites, leaned towards the King's side. In 1776 he says,[146] "I expressed my opinion that we could not interfere in tearing ourselves from the king . . . that he was the head or protector of Pennsylvania . . . and that we ought to submit to the three acts, for that we acknowledged ourselves a defenceless people and neither could institute or destroy any government . . . . the Congress and the American government was rejected as rebellious by my fellow ministers under the idea that Congress would soon be overpowered."

But later he began wondering whether he was not sympathizing with the wrong side. He received the Constitution of Pennsylvania and noticed that it guaranteed to all religious societies, liberty of conscience in worshipping God according to their own convictions; no man was compelled to bear arms or to take an oath against his conscience, " . . . and it caused much reflection in me that we should despise the government that offered us the like liberty, which Wm. Penn had guaranteed to our fathers in Europe. . . . Our ministers and elders, however, still considered Congress as rebels."[147] With this growing conviction of the righteousness of the patriot cause, he begins to urge that his fellow ministers and church-members ought not to denounce the American government as rebellious. They should adopt a strictly neutral attitude—let the Americans and English fight it out, for the English had taken America from Spain and now the Americans were about to take it from Englend.[148] Evidently Funk was a bit of a philosopher.

When a special war tax was levied in 1777, the ministers were unanimously of the opinion that they should not pay it, because, or so Funk says

at least, they considered the "government rebellious and hostile to the king."[149] After much trouble and discussion over paying a later tax of 2£ 10s, the ministers decided that "whoever adheres to Congress, or even inclines that way, shall have nothing to say here."[150] It was also charged against Funk that he had signed the certificate of Allegiance to the American government[151] and had advised other Mennonites to take the affirmation of allegiance.[152] Finally Funk was expelled. But there were at least a few who thought as he did, for, he says,[153]

"At this time the British were still in the country and, as far as I know, not only all the congregations, but also all my relatives, excepting three, were of opinion that Congress was composed of rebels and therefore no government. But, as my brothers and sisters, my sons-in-law and children, on the one part, and several brethren and sisters saw the great injustice which these men done me, they . . . gave the government the honor to which it is entitled." And so he organized . . . "my free congregation . . . which they had put under the ban for five years, for no other reason but because they supposed the king would subdue America."[155]

It should be noted, however, that much of the feeling against Funk seems to have been due to personal animosity; what he ascribed to Toryism was at least partly due to dislike of him. Nevertheless his story is significant because it indicates that all but a few of the Mennonites in the vicinity of Montgomery County remained pro-British during the larger part of the war. They regarded the King as the rightful ruler and the patriot government as unlawful. As Funk shows, this attitude was sustained also by the belief that the English would win and by their objection to the positive measures of the patriots—war taxes, fines and oaths.

It was this last fact which had so much to do with maintaining the passive resistance of the peaceful sects toward the patriot cause. It was the Revolutionary assembly which gave out all the measures to which they objected. It fined them and taxed them and required them to swear allegiance to the new government. The Loyalist faction did not thus positively antagonize them. The British government was far away and whatever irritating decrees it issued could not be enforced anyhow. Only when British troops raided the countryside and destroyed buildings and crops and confiscated property were the farmers turned against them.

It must be kept in mind that the Revolution was a civil war, fought among a people quite evenly divided on the question of independence from Great Britain. The fierce hatreds inevitably aroused by such an internecine struggle would explain a great deal of the troubles of the sects, which, in their position as neutrals, were bound to be suspected by both

sides. The ordinary person knew little and cared less about the Biblical doctrine of non-resistance. He saw someone who was not fighting on his side and, at least if he was a rabid partisan, proceeded to make trouble for that person. A revolutionary government in a war-ridden country could not be expected to keep close control over its adherents in remote communities. Local bad feeling was bound to result in disorder. And so, undoubtedly, much of the trouble and actual property damage that did come to the pacifists during the period was due, not to their pacifism particularly, but to general political conditions.

Then, too, there were some Pennsylvanians, Tories usually, or just plain "slackers", who hid behind the skirts of the pacifists. They laid claim to exemption on account of conscientious scruples which they did not really possess. Complaints came in continually against such people.[156] It tended to bring genuine pacifists into disrepute and to cause their sincerity to be questioned. Such a condition added to the resentment the patriots felt against the sects.

There were still other occasions for collision between the pacifists and the government. Being farmers they were called upon to furnish wagons and teams, and occasionally teamsters.[157] Naturally, a patriot officer would be more likely to impress the wagons and teams of the neutral pacifist than those of the patriot farmers.[158] And the same discrimination undoubtedly affected the securing of food supplies when the great need did not make discrimination impossible. The fertile farms of the pacifists supplied a great deal of the food for the armies. Pennsylvania was the granary of the Provinces at that time, and non-resistants produced a large part of the surplus crops.[159] Their refusal to participate in war did not, however, extend so far as to prevent them selling their crops for the use of the troops. Refusal to sell would have been met by confiscation. The only effective method would have been to refrain from raising crops at all. And such a drastic alternative probably never entered the heads of the simple farmer folk. Not to work in the fields would itself have been a sin. They raised the food and let God decide as to who should eat it.

The chief objections to selling their surplus arose, then, not from any conscientious scruples, but from an extremely practical dislike of exchanging valuable farm products for worthless continental scrip or paper money of dubious value. James Lang wrote to the Board of War from Lancaster in June, 1777, that,[160]

"The Mennonites refuse to sell their produce unless for hard cash, and when they bring their market stuff to town will carry it from house to house and sell it very low for hard cash, but will carry it home sooner

than sell it for Congress currency. I am informed this is done every market day."

And in June, 1781, Col. Philip Montseller, a member of the Commissary Department wrote President Reed,[161]

"Your Excellency will please observe that many of the wealthy Mennonites and others who live in the vicinity of Lancaster, Manheim and Conestoga, drive flocks of cattle over the mountains in the spring season, to the great distress of the poor inhabitants. These men have them undoubtedly to share, otherwise they would keep them on their farms, and therefore ought to be taken from them. But this cannot be done without the assistance of ten or twelve men to drive them together which would be attended with extra charges. Therefore I await your Excellency's particular Instructions in the Premises."

Despite this natural reluctance to part with their goods, which may have been heightened to some extent by conscientious scruples, a considerable amount of the food for the continental armies must have come from their farms, especially during the fighting around Philadelphia during the early years of the war. Jedediah Morse testifies, in his *American Geography,* published in 1789, that, "It was from farms cultivated by these men that the American and French armies were chiefly fed with bread during the late rebellion, and it was from the produce of these farms that those millions of dollars were obtained which laid the foundation of the Bank of North America, and which fed and clothed the American army till the glorious Peace of Paris."[162] The chief, though unwilled, contribution of the pacifist sects toward the winning of the Revolutionary War by the Americans, arose out of their expert agricultural methods, which created wealth in Pennsylvania and an unfailing supply of food. This more than balance any troubles arising out of their pacifism.

Undoubtedly the pacifist sects did a great deal to relieve distress resulting from the war. As they declared in their 1775 petition to the Assembly, it was always, "our Principle to feed the Hungry and give the Thirsty drink,—we have dedicated ourselves to serve all Men in every Thing than can be helpful to the Preservation of Men's Lives."[163] Mennonites, Amish and Schwenkfelders have ever been a charitable, kindly people, quick to offer their goods to succor the suffering. They are warmhearted, easily touched by misery and want. But whatever action was taken in the Revolution was unorganized and unofficial. Individuals and congregations independently did their duty in their respective localities, for there was no general ecclesiastical organization. The Moravians at Bethlehem and the Tunker Brethren at Ephrata used their facilities for hospital purposes and Mennonites may have assisted at those places. There

is record, for instance, of a Mennonite preacher, John Bear, and his wife, who entered the Ephrata Cloister hospital to help nurse the wounded. Both caught an infection and died, early in 1778.[164] We may be sure from what we know of their character and customs, that many a weary straggler, invalided soldier or destitute refugee received aid and comfort from the rich farms and hearths of the Pennsylvania pacifists.

From what has been said of the character of the sects it is clear that no active violent resistance to the American government was to be expected from them. But occasionally they got into trouble through what might be construed as treasonable acts. In 1783, for instance, Christian Zimmerman, Christian Weaver and Henry Martin of the Weaverland Mennonite Congregation in Lancaster County were arrested for aiding British prisoners to escape from the Lancaster barracks toward the seaboard.[165] The fugitives had come to the Mennonite farmhouses and begged for food and shelter over night. Granting such a request was entirely in keeping with Mennonite principles of charity and non-resistance. And no one believed that it was done with traitorous intentions. Technically, however, it was treason and the local military officials insisted on punishment. Only through the intercession of Peter Miller, Prior of the Cloister of the Brethren at Ephrata and a friend of Washington were they enabled to evade imprisonment and to secure the remission of part of their fines.[166] The incident is typical of the whole course of pacifist-government relations throughout the Revolution. A simple farmer behaves as he thinks his conscience and the Bible command, to the very slight hurt of the patriot cause. Officious local military authorities catch him up and ordain severe punishment. Finally influence of respectable persons is brought to bear on higher officials and the wiser and more tolerant central authorities decrease the punishment to a comparatively light one. The pacifist has suffered mildly for his belief, tho local patriot dislikes and despises him a little more; and the great current of affairs moves on undisturbed.

That, however, was a more or less passive act. More serious is the charge made by John Bayley, a county magistrate, who, June 26, 1776, writes to President Wharton as follows.[167]

"The opposition given to the laws by the Dutch at length hath broken out into open rebellion, they had threatened so much and bound themselves to each other, that any constable would not go without a guard of armed men, accordingly on the 25th instant Colonel Lowrey sent an Officer and six men with the Constable, by order of the Magistrate, to levy for the fines due by one Sam'l Albright who had got intelligence of their coming, and got together Twelve men and a number of women armed with Sithes, Coulters, and pitch-forks. The first stroke given struck

one of the guard with a coulter, behind his back, which split his skull 4 or 5 inches, the rest of the guard thought they were all in danger of their lives, were forced to fire on the Rebels, and shot three of the ringleaders but having no more ammunition but what first loaded their pieces, and some had none at first, was obliged to flee for their lives till they would get ammunition. Yesterday we got evidence against the twelve that were at the rescue. Likewise and 3 more that were in League with them. These three that are Shott are of these conscientious People menoneasts [Mennonites] who Preten non resistance, and Persive [Passive] Obedience, and there is about 15 or 20 more of the same sect in the publick Cabal. But I think the greatest part of that sect together with zealous friends [Quakers] are secretly fomenting the whole."[168]

The last charge of the Magistrate is so preposterous that it may be disregarded. And the whole affair is so out of keeping with the past history, the general character and the rest of the actions of the Mennonites that, to say the least, grave doubts are cast on the truth of the report. Certainly if it had been taken seriously by the authorities, the Mennonites would have had a much harder time of it during the rest of the war, and the incident would have been played up to discredit pacifists in general. The probability is that the Magistrate was ill acquainted with the people in question and with Mennonites—the style of the report does not indicate any great amount of intelligence—and that he simply took the easiest way of accounting for an affair not too creditable for himself, at the same time satisfying his dislike of the Mennonites and Germans in general. Probably he could not distinguish between one kind of German and another. It is just possible, of course, that the people in question were Mennonites. If so, they were exceptional individuals who had strayed far from the main tenets of the church. So far as is known, this is the only recorded case of actual violent resistance to the laws which stands against the sects, and it is of very doubtful authenticity.[169]

There were, of course, many individuals whose ties with the pacifist sects were very loose, or whose ancestors had belonged to them, who actually fought in the armies.[170] The Pennypacker family, for instance, originally Mennonite, gave the Continental Forces a Captain, a Lieutenant, an Ensign, a Corporal and a Private.[170] The great Rittenhouse, one of the leaders in Revolutionary affairs, was the grandson of a Mennonite Bishop. But compared to the Quakers, the number of Mennonites so participating was much smaller, both absolutely and relatively. One has only to mention the names of John Dickinson and Gov. Mifflin to indicate the prominent part individual Friends played in the struggle. Even a separate society was formed of those Friends who wished to take part in the fight-

ing, the Free Quakers, or, more appropriately, "Hickory" or "Fighting" Quakers.[171] The reason for this can be easily understood when it is recalled how much more important a part the Quakers played in Government and society generally in Pennsylvania. The Mennonites were inconspicuous farmers who took little part in the worldly affairs of the day, while Friends were prominent in politics and business; the pressure of events almost inevitably forced those not deeply religious into taking sides. Among the rural Mennonites, living by themselves, this pressure would not be so keenly felt. The whole Quaker tradition in Pennsylvania sanctioned taking part in a political struggle, while Mennonites had preached, and, for the most part lived, aloofness from the world for two centuries.

With the end of the War in 1783 came a cessation of the period of civil tumult which for forty years had been testing the religious principles of the Pennsylvania sects. A breathing space was given in which to consider the past. How had their beliefs about the state and war, their pacifism, affected and been influenced by the world in which they lived, and yet were separate from?

In the first place, the holding of non-resistant doctrines was one of the prime reasons for the coming of Mennonites, Amish, and Schwenkfelders to America. Persecuted in Europe because of this and other heretical beliefs, they found in the tolerant Pennsylvania of William Penn, a place of refuge where they could practice such doctrines without interference. The doctrine of non-resistance was based entirely on religious grounds and was an integral part of their outlook on life. It helped to set them apart from the "Yankee"[172] Settlers of the Province and thus to stimulate the growth of clannishness. It contributed to their feeling of "separation from the world", which has led them to develop a self-contained and distinctive culture—a culture which has colored the entire civilization of Pennsylvania and every region where the descendants of the "Pennsylvania Dutch"[173] have settled. Their pacifism made them oppose violent change in government; it added to their rural conservatism; it increased their natural sympathy with the Quaker party in Pennsylvania, which they supported in office. It induced them to treat their Indian neighbors peacefully and justly and to support honest dealing with them by the state. It influenced them either to remain neutral or to lean towards the Loyalist party in the struggle with Great Britain, both before and during the Revolution;[174] 'though they took no active part in the conflict, nevertheless, they increased appreciably the weight of the Conservative party, both because of themselves and because of the German settlers who followed their lead. It added one more perplexing problem to the already sufficiently large list of those with which the Revolutionary authorities of Pennsylvania were burdened.

On the whole, they suffered very little in the maintenance of this belief. Certainly they were persecuted for it infinitely less than they had been in Europe. In fact, it is hardly correct to say that they were persecuted at all. Their pacifistic beliefs were so interwoven with other interests and motives, cultural, economic, and religious, that one cannot say that the troubles they went through during the Revolution were due to their non-resistant attitude alone. And the trials they did undergo did not shake in the slightest their firm belief in the eternal truth of the docrine of non-resistance. Christ and the unchanging Scriptures taught it, and the descendants of the Anabaptist martyrs were just as ready to maintain the doctrine at the expense of property and life in the Pennsylvania of 1783 as were the first-comers one hundred years earlier.

Whatever may be the reason, the attitude of the Americans of 1776 towards the pacifists among them was, in every respect, more tolerant and liberal than that of our contemporaries in the age of "Schrecklichkeit."

Officials and citizenry in general exhibited a remarkable degree of sympathetic understanding and wise, restrained action—something which certainly did not characterize their descendants in the World War. There was not the urge to regiment emotions and beliefs—the mad impelling desire to force every one to conform. Americans then could live next door to people with peculiar doctrines and customs without frothing at the mouth.

That the doctrine of non-resistance made any important converts during the period or has had any great effect on the political and intellectual history of the nation may be doubted. The group which maintained the principle was too small—too inconspicuous and self-contained and unagressive. The world hurried by unheeding. America of the Nineteenth Century was too busy exploiting its natural resources and getting rich quick to pay any attention to these quiet, queer Pennsylvania farmers. Time has not yet fulfilled the pious wish of Dr. Benjamin Rush, that,

"Perhaps those German Sects of Christians who refuse to bear arms for the shedding of human blood may be preserved by Divine Providence as the center of a circle which shall gradually embrace all nations of the Earth in a perpetual treaty of friendship and peace."[175]

APPENDIX

I.

A Statement concerning war from the earliest Anabaptist Confession of Faith, that of Schlatten a. Randen, May, 1527, *quoted from W. J. McGlothin,* Baptist Confessions of Faith, *pp.* 6, 7.*

*Since the same statement is to be found in the July, 1927 issue of the Review, pp. 10, 11, it is omitted here. [Editor's Note.]

II.

The Confession of Faith drawn up at Dordrecht, Holland, in 1632, *is and has been the official confession of the Mennonites and Amish in America. It has this to say about war and the state.** (*Quoted from J. S. Hartzler and Daniel Kauffman,* Mennonite Church History, Scottdale, *Pennsylvania,* 1905, *pp.* 387-8.)

Article XIII

The Office of Civil Government

We also believe and confess that God has instituted Civil Government for the punishment of the wicked and the protection of the pious and also further for the purpose of governing the world-governing countries and cities; and also to preserve its subjects in good order and under good regulations. Wherefore we are not permitted to despise, blaspheme or resist the same; but are to acknowledge it as a minister of God, and be subject and obedient to it in all things that do not militate against the law, will and commandments of God. Yea, "to be ready to every good work;" also faithfully to pay its custom, tax and tribute; thus giving it what is its due; as Jesus Christ taught, did himself, and commanded his followers to do. That we are also to pray to the Lord earnestly for the government and its welfare, and in behalf of our country, so that we may live under its protection, maintain ourselves, and "lead a quiet and peaceful life in all Godliness and honesty". And further, that the Lord would recompense them (our rulers), here and in eternity, for all the benefits, liberties and favors which we enjoy under their laudable administration. Rom. 13:1-7; Tit. 3:1-2; I Peter 2:17; Matt. 17:27. 22:21; I Tim. 2:1, 2.

*Article XIV on "Defence by Force" is omitted here since it to be found in major part, on page 4 of this issue. [Editor's Note.]

III.

The Petition of Mennonites and German Baptists to the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1775 *in reference to the Militia Associations is here reproduced from a photostatic copy of the original broadside now in the possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia. A copy of the same broadside in German, printed at the same time by the same printer, is in the Mennonite Historical Library at Scottdale, Pa.*

To our *Honorable Assembly,* and all others in high or low Station of *Administration,* and to all Friends and Inhabitants of this Country, to whose Sight this may come, be they ENGLISH or GERMANS.

In the first Place we acknowledge us indebted to the most high God, who created Heaven and Earth, the only good Being, to thank him for all his great Goodness and manifold Mercies and Love through our Saviour

JESUS CHRIST, who is come to save the Souls of Men, having all Power in Heaven and on Earth.

Further we find ourselves to be indebted to be thankfull to our late worthy Assembly, for their giving so good an Advice in these troublesome Times to all Ranks of People in *Pennsylvania*, particularly in allowing those, who, by the Doctrine of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, are persuaded in their Consciences to love their Enemies, and not to resist Evil, to enjoy the Liberty of their Conscience, for which, as also for all the good Things we enjoyed under their Care, we heartily thank that worthy Body of Assembly, and all high and low in Office, who have advised to such a peacefull Measure, hoping and confiding that they, and all others entrusted with Power in this hitherto blessed Province, may be moved by the same Spirit of Grace, which animated the first Founder of this Province, our late worthy Proprietor *William Penn*, to grant Liberty of Conscience to all its Inhabitants, that they may in the great and memorable Day of Judgment be put on the right Hand of the just Judge, who judgeth without Respect to Person, and hear of him these blessed Words, *Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you, &c. What ye have done unto one of the least of these my Brethren, ye have done unto me,* among which Number (*i. e. the least of Christ's Brethren*) we by his Grace hope to be ranked; and every Lenity and Favour shewn to such tender conscienced, although weak Followers of this our blessed Saviour, will not be forgotten by him in that great Day.

The Advice to those who do not find Freedom of Conscience to take up Arms, that they ought to be helpfull to those who are in Need and distressed Circumstances, we receive with Chearfulness towards all Men of what Station they may be—it being our Principle to feed the Hungry and give the Thirsty Drink;—we have dedicated ourselves to serve all Men in every Thing that can be helpful to the Preservation of Men's Lives, but we find no Freedom in giving, or doing, or assisting in any Thing by which Men's Lives are destroyed or hurt.—We beg the Patience of all those who believe we err in this Point.

We are always ready, according to CHRIST'S Command to *Peter*, to pay the Tribute, that we may offend no Man, and so we are willing to pay Taxes, *and to render unto Caesar those Things that are Caesar's, and to God those Things that are God's,* although we think ourselves very weak to give GOD his due Honour, he being a Spirit and Life, and we only Dust and Ashes.

We are also willing to be subject to the higher Powers, and to give in the manner *Paul* directs us;—*for he beareth the Sword not in vain, for*

he is the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute Wrath upon him that doeth Evil.

This Testimony we lay down before our worthy Assembly, and all other Persons in Government, letting them know, that we are thankfull as above-mentioned, and that we are not at Liberty in Conscience to take up Arms to conquer our Enemies, but rather to pray to God, who has Power in Heaven and on Earth, for *US* and *THEM*.

We also crave the Patience of all the Inhabitants of this Country,—what they think to see clearer in the Doctrine of the blessed Jesus Christ, we will leave to them and God, finding ourselves very poor; for Faith is to proceed out of the Word of God, which is Life and Spirit, and a Power of God, and our Conscience is to be instructed by the same therefore we beg for Patience.

Our small Gift, which we have given, we gave to those who have Power over us, that we may not offend them, as Christ taught us by the Tribute Penny.

We heartily pray that God would govern all Hearts of our Rulers, be they high or low, to meditate those good Things which will pertain to *OUR* and *THEIR* Happiness.

The above Declaration, signed by a Number of Elders and Teachers of the Society of Menonists. and some of the German Baptists, presented to the Honorable House of Assembly on the 7th Day of November, 1775, *was most graciously received.*

IV.

A Remonstrance, in the handwriting of Christopher Schultz, a Schwenkfelder, against the order of the Assembly to take up arms. It was probably intended to be presented to the meeting of pacifist inhabitants of Berks County, referred to above, in 1775, *but there is no evidence that it was ever presented or signed. The original manuscript is in the Schwenkfelder Historical Library at Pennsburg, Pennsylvania.*

"To the Committee of the County of Berks, the remonstrance of several inhabitants of the said County.

Respectfully sheweth

That we, the said inhabitants, with hearts full of the highest concern for the preservation of our Constitution and liberties now attempted to be overthrown by the enemies of the same, and tenderly affected for the honour and peace of this Country and Province, and the Welfare and Happiness of ourselves and our Posterity, beg leave humbly to petition and remonstrate against some late resolves and doings of the last Convention of the Committee of Berks County whereby every male person between the age of sixteen and fifty-five years is, without exception and without

Regard of Conscientious Scruples, obliged to take up arms and submit to Their Military Rules or be fined in such a Degree, whereby numbers of Families would be reduced to utter Ruin, and such Fines to be raised by Distraint of their goods, by military Force. Resolves which your remonstrants conceive to be of very dangerous tendency, pregnant with the greatest Mischief to ourselves and our Posterity and highly derogatory to the honor of this Country and destructive to the established rights of the inhabitants of this Province and a grievance of the highest concern for the following reasons.

If any privilege may be properly called an established privilege, the privilege of conscience is one of the foremost in the dictates of humanity and of sound reason and is indeed the foremost amongst them all, that are established and mentioned in our Province Charter, unalterable by any people or body of people whatsoever, except that six parts out of seven of the freemen of this province in general assembly met, do consent or make an alteration. This Privilege is a sacred right and property to every person inhabiting in this province who shall confess and acknowledge the almighty God, etc., whereby it is declared, "That no person or persons shall be in any case molested or prejudiced in his or their person and estate because of his or their conscientious persuasion or practice, nor be compelled . . . to do or suffer any act or thing contrary to their religious persuasion. Now whereas it is a divine and sacred right, depriving anybody of the enjoyment of the same must be deemed sacrilege and must be void in effect.

In good conformity to this established charter right the wisdom of our worthy House of Assembly have lately made the following Ordinance:

"In Assembly June 30, 1775. The House taking into consideration that many of the good people of this province are conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms, do hereby earnestly recommend to the Association for the defense of their Country and others that they bear a tender and brotherly regard towards this class of their fellow-subjects and countrymen, and to these conscientious people it is also recommended that they cheerfully assist in proportion to their ability such persons as cannot spend both time and substance in the service of the country without great injury to themselves and familys."

Of the same Genteel Moderation is the sense and resolution of the Continental Congress of the 18th of July, 1775, by which these great politicians nobly scorn to violate People's Consciences and by which the said, our past statute privilege is guaranteed, further confirmed and safely preserved, in the midst of all the present publick conflicts and warlike operations and ordinances.

Adding to these the feelings of humanity and the impulses of true religion and if we are allowed the chief precept of our saviour; and in Politicks our common duty to be watchful to preserve entire our charter and constitution, ye remonstrants cannot sufficiently express their astonishment on finding such resolves of the said convention which are in direct opposition and violation to all the above cited Charter rights and to the Recommendations both of our House of Assembly and the Continental Congress, and to the Principals of Humanity and religion assuming an unlimited, absolute power in the high tone of Precept, inflicting Mulcts and Fines whilst the free people of these colonies have been accustomed to be addressed from the Continental Congress their House of Assembly, as appears by the above recited resolve and in former times even by the Ministers of State in the soft stile of Recommendation.

Your Remonstrants beg leave further to observe that we cannot learn that any of the People in this County were disinclined or deficient in their duty, to what hath been recommended to them by their Assembly and the Continental Congress, and what reasonably could be expected from them by the County Committee, but on the other hand, a great number of such as have conscientious scruple to take up arms have offered to Sacrifice all their Fortune for the Upholding of the Common Cause.

And your Remonstrants, impulsed by dire necessity, beg leave further to say and declare, that they find themselves as in Duty bound to their County, themselves and their Posterity to protest against the said Resolves of the Sd last Convention, and that we are unwilling and cannot submit Rights of civil and religious Privileges, tearing our Charters, taking our Property from us without our consent, subjugating us under a Despotick arbitrary, yea military Execution, depriving us of the most precious Pearl of a free People, the Trial by Juries and of the protection of the Civil Law.

Therefore, your Remonstrants do humbly pray and request to reconsider the aforesaid Votes, Resolves and Doings and make such Provision in the Matters and Premises, whereby our Security may be further established, Disunion prevented, Disgrace and Reproach to this County averted and interior Peace, Harmony and good Order preserved, and your Remonstrants as in Duty bound, shall ever be willing to do their utmost for the Welfare and Support of the Common Cause."

V.

Extracts relating to war and government, from the "Constitution of the Schwenkfelder Society, which it has accepted and subscribed to the 17*th day of August, A.D.,* 1782, *as also By Laws, some of which from time to time in the past and others at this date, October* 19, 1850, *have been unanimously accepted and adopted. Collected and compiled from the records*

by Joshua Schultz", Skippack, Pa., 1882. *Article 8 of Civil Government, p.* 34.

"1. This church holds it to be in perfect conformity with duty to yield to civil government the most submissive obedience in all reasonable things, where and when they are not in conflict with or militate against the conscience and the Word of God according to Romans 13, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, etc". Hence it is proper to give to governments, taxes, fear and honor . . . .

2. Since Civil Government is from God, then a member of this church may also serve in a government office . . . .

3. Resolved that the taking of an oath is not allowed in this church, according to the bible injunctions, Matt. 5:33; Jas. 5:12.

4. Resolved that no member of this church is allowed to take up the sword in order to engage in war, for we believe that for Christians there is only appointed, "the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God". And hence, according to the testimony of our Conscience, we cannot transgress the authentic command of God which is contained in the Sixth Command of the holy ten commandments, "Thou shalt not kill".

5. On this account no person is allowed, as also according to a resolution of the year 1828, to participate in military affairs, if he wishes to be a member of this church."

NOTES

80. Smith, *Mennonites,* pp. 388 ff.

81. There are many parallels on the same period among the European Mennonites. Cf. Correll, *op. cit.* Chap. IV.

82. "The majority of the substantial people of Pennsylvania, although not of a kind to raise a counter insurrection, were opposed to independence and incensed at its promulgation. It was consummated by the more remote rural population. So much was this the case that officers of the enemy called the war a Scotch-Irish Rebellion." Jenkins, Howard M., ed., Pennsylvania, *Colonial and Federal, a History,* Philadelphia, 1903, p. 28.

83. Gibbons, *Pennsylvania Dutch,* p. 111.

84. Gibbons, *Ibid.,* p. 111.

85. The Swiss Mennonites in Europe did not take any active interest in the Napoleonic wars of liberation in the Palatinate, although they were active in securing their defenseless position and appealed to the early leaders of the French Revolution in this matter. Cf. Correll, Art. *Donnersberg, Mennonitisches Lexikon,* Vol. I., p. 464 f. and Art. *Franzosich Revolution,* p. 686 f. The Napoleonic Era in Europe, however, eventually caused the breakdown of pacifism among the European Mennonites. Cf. Correll, *Schweizerische Taufer-Mennonitentum,* p. 99 f., and Correll, Art. *Friedensbewegung, Menn. Lex.* I, pp. 706-713.

86. Cf. Ellis & Evans, *op. cit.,* p. 334. "The different attitudes of Mennonites and Quakers in the Revolution are best explained by their hereditary differences. The German Peace Sects had little regard as to what government protected them as long as their rights of conscience remained undisturbed and they were left unmolested in those pursuits congenial to their meagre wants

and simple mode of life. The Mennonites were more loosely wedded to civil traditions, appreciated it quickest, and consequently suffered least by the new order of things."

87. Sharpless, Isaac, *The Quakers in the Revolution,* Philadelphia, 1898, p. 3. The Quakers were largely anti-"patriot".

88. Sharpless, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 168. When Washington was President, Warner Mifflin, a Quaker, called on him. The President said, "Mr. Mifflin, will you please tell me on what principle you were opposed to the Revolution?" "Yes, friend Washington, upon the principle that I should be opposed to a change in the present government. All that was ever secured by Revolution is not an adequate compensation for the poor mangled soldiers and for the loss of life and limb." "I honor your statements," replied the President, "for there is more in them than mankind has generally considered." *Ibid.,* p. 171. Note also, the intelligent and tolerant attitude of Benjamin Rush, patriot leader. "Above all, cherish with peculiar tenderness those sects among you who hold war to be unlawful. Relieve them from the oppression of absurd and unnecessary militia laws. Protect them as the repositories of a truth of the gospel which has existed in every age of the church, and which must spread hereafter over every part of the globe." Rush, Benjamin, M. D., *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania.* Reprinted in Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings, Vol. X, p. 119.

89. Bolles, *Pennsylvania, Province and State,* Vol. I, pp. 431 ff, for facts of paragraph. Cf. Smith, *Mennonites,* pp. 368 ff.

90. Bolles, *op. cit.,* p. 433. July 27, 1775, Christopher Schultz, a Schwenkfelder, writes to Germany, "Ducking and stooping and guarding of words must be studiously practiced if great danger and the military roll are to be averted." Kriebel, *Schwenkfelders,* p. 150.

91. A Copy of this broadside is now in Independence Hall, Philadelphia. It is quoted, also, in Smith, *Mennonites,* p. 257. Cf. Hartzler, Jonas S., *Mennonites in the World War, or Non-Resistance Under Test,* Scottdale, Pa., 1921 pp. 26 f.

92. Christopher Schultz, a Schwenkfelder wrote to Silesia, 1779, "For those citizens of the province who at the breaking out of the war did not take up arms, the prospect was often full of fear and dread. The mad rabble said, 'If we must march to the field of battle, he who will not take up arms must first be treated as an enemy to his country'." Original letter in German in the Schwenkfelder Library at Pennsburg, Pa.

93. *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania,* Philadelphia, 1776, Vol. I, p. 594.

94. *Ibid.,* p. 595.

95. Resolve of Congress, July 18, 1775, entered in the Minutes of the Committee of Safety, July 28, 1775. *Colonial Records,* Vol. X, Harrisburg, 1852, p. 293.

96. Siebert, Wilbur H., *The Loyalists of Pennsylvania,* Ohio State University Bulletin, Vol. XXIV, No. 23, Columbus, 1920, p. 24. Petition reprinted in *The Pennsylvania Gazette,* Philadelphia, Nov. 1, 1775, No. 2445, p. 2.

97. *Pennsylvania Gazette,* No. 2446, Nov. 8, 1775. Cf. Siebert, *op. cit.,* p. 24.

98. *Pennsylvania Gazette,* 2445, Nov. 1, 1775, and reprinted in the Gazettes for Nov. 8 and Nov. 15. Cf. Siebert, *op. cit.,* p. 24. Cf. Smith, *Mennonites,* p. 369.

99. Montgomery, Morton L., *History of Berks County in Pennsylvania,* Philadelphia, 1886, p. 151.
Cf. Montgomery, Morton L., *A History of Berks County, Pa., in the Revolution from* 1774 *to* 1783, Reading, Pa., 1894, p. 37, "A small number of inhabitants in the county had conscientious scruples against war and though they succeeded in holding a public meeting and forming an organization, they did not constitute a factor of any importance in creating public opinion."

100. Force, *American Archives,* Vol. III, p. 795.

101. Cf. in the Appendix, a copy of a resolution drawn up by a Schwenkfelder leader, Christopher Schultz, probably for presenting at this meeting.
Cf. Kriebel, Howard Wiegner, *The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania; Pa.*

German Society Proceedings, Vol. 13, Lancaster, 1904, p. 151.

102. *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives,* Vol. I, pp. 645 ff. Cf. Smith, *Mennonites,* pp. 370-372. According to Smith a similar petition was presented to the Maryland Constitutional Convention of 1776 by the Mennonites and Dunkards. The Constitution of Maryland, as adopted, granted privileges to such groups in the matter of oaths, Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions,* Vol. III, p. 1690.
103. *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives,* Vol. I, p. 645.
104. *Ibid.,* Vol. I, p. 649.
105. Altho this principle was retained there were some changes in the details of administration. 1) April 5, 1776, all non-associators are fined £3 10s. *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania,* 1682-1801, Harrisburg, Pa., 1902, VIII, p. 541. 2) Sept. 14, 1776, an "Ordinance for Rendering Burden of Associators and non-Associators in the Defense of this State as nearly equal as May Be", requiring every non-associator over twenty-one to pay, plus the fine, twenty shillings per month and four shillings on the pound on the annual value of his state, *ibid.,* Vol. IX, p. 23. 3) A resolution of the Assembly of Sept. 21, 1776, declared the foregoing taxes illegal and not to be paid. *Votes of Assembly,* Vol. VI, p. 764. 4) Feb. 14, 1777. Fines up to this time had not been collected, "to the great discouragement of the spirited and virtuous associators", and so all non-associators are to be fined any sum under £20. *Statutes at Large,* Vol. IX, p. 50. 5) Dec. 26, 1777, an act was passed doubling the taxes of all not subject to or not performing military duties. *Ibid.,* p. 167. These changes indicate that there was a considerable minority opposing the government's policy, varying in strength with the fortunes of war. What a contrast to the last war when almost no one besides the ostracized Senator La Follette was brave enough to speak a word in Congress in defense of the "C. O.'s"—and when the penalty for refusing to serve was much more severe.
106. Cf. Bolles, *op. cit.,* p. 433.
107. A combination of Tories and Moderates won the Philadelphia election to the General Assembly in April, 1776, thus showing with whom the majority of the people sympathized. Siebert, *op. cit.,* p. 27. Cf. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia,* Vol. I, p. 305.
108. A combination of Tories and Moderates won the Philadelphia election to the General Assembly in April, 1776, thus showing with whom the majority of the people sympathized. Siebert, *op. cit.,* p. 27. Cf. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia,* Vol. I, p. 453.
109. *Ibid.,* p. 453.
110. *Ibid.,* pp. 454 ff.
111. Cf. *Ante,* note 105, *post,* pp. 29, 30. *Statutes at Large,* Vol. IX, p. 50.
112. Bolles, *op. cit.,* p. 397.
113. *Ibid.,* p. 397.
114. Smith, *Mennonites,* p. 369.
115. Payments of special war taxes or Blutgeld was opposed by Anabaptists as early as the first half of the 16th century. Cf. Correll, *Taeufer-Mennonitentum,* p. 41.
116. Cf. *Post,* note 128, *ante* pp. 21 f., *post,* pp. 30 ff., note 125.
117. See Confession of Faith in Appendix and Petition of 1775 in Appendix.
118. Schultz, Christopher, *Skizzen aus dem Lecha-Thale,* Allentown, Pa., 1880, p. 51.
120. *Ibid.,* p. 158.
121. The Schwenkfelders seem to have suffered less than most other pacifist groups in the Revolution, partly because of this fact and partly because they were less important. Abraham Schultz, a Schwenkfelder, writes a revealing letter to friends in Germany at the close of the War in 1783.

"With reference to our people matters assumed a fearful aspect when the war broke out. He who would not take up arms was treated as an enemy of the country. Terrible threats were not wanting, rigorous treatment also often followed and those got through best who did not threaten when they suffered and did not revile again when they were reviled. Without claim-

ing undue praise unto ourselves, we may still say that our people got through more easily than others that also did not resort to the use of arms; for to the praise of God we must say that he held his protecting hand paternally over us, so that in spite of terrible prospects, oppressive want, severe threats and fines of the war, it is still true of the most of us as we come together that we can say no one has any special reason for complaint, even though it cost pain at times, as the saying goes. The friends of the war did not succeed all through the war in forcing any of our people into the war, although all males between the ages of 18 and 53 were enrolled in the militia classes and fined heavily for not taking part." From original letter in German in the Schwenkfelder Library at Pennsburg, Pa.

122. *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series,* Vol. VI, p. 433.

123. Funk, Christian, *A Mirror for All Mankind,* Norristown, Pa., 1814, p. 16.

124. There are no recorded instances of forcible seizure of property from Mennonites or jail sentences for absolute non-refusal to pay fines or taxes.

125. Siebert, *op. cit.,* p. 33. There was much complaint from the military and patriots generally about the non-collection of fines. Cf. *Statutes at Large, of Pennsylvania,* 1682-1801, Vol. IX, Harrisburg, 1897, p. 49, where it is stated that up to that time, Feb. 14, 1777, fines had not been collected. July 19, 1779 a remonstrance was received from several inhabitants of Germantown who declare they will not pay their taxes on account of the indulgence shown by the Commissioners to other persons—presumably pacifists. Further remonstrances were received from other inhabitants, signifying their intention to support this stand. *Colonial Records,* Vol. XII, pp. 53 f. January 17, 1781, a petition praying the remission of fines was received by the Supreme Executive Council from about sixty men of Berks County, for associating together to oppose the collection of public taxes. These men had German names, and it is possible some of them were Mennonites and Schwenkfelders, though it would be unusual for the Mennonites to join an *association* to oppose taxes. The recommendation of other inhabitants of Berks County accompanied the petition and a remission of half of the fine was ordered, *ibid.,* pp. 601 f.

126. *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania,* Vol. IX, pp. 112, 113, 239, 241. This was the form of the oath "I, ———, do swear or affirm that I will renounce and refuse all allegiance to George III, King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors, and that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a free and independent state; and that I will not at any time do or cause to be done any matter or thing that will be prejudicial or injurious to the independence or freedom thereof, as declared by Congress, and also that I will discover and make known to some one justice of the peace of the said state, all treasons or traitorous conspiracies which I now know or hereafter shall know to be formed against this or any other of the United States of America."

127. A few Mennonites seem to have run afoul of this provision. One, Christian Smucker, was kept in jail at Reading; and the town boys ridiculed his wife while she carried food to him. Stephen Kauffman, Sr., Jacob Mast, John Hertzler, and others were imprisoned for refusing military service and the oath. They were condemned to be shot, but the sentence was never executed and they were set free. The sentence was probably only given for its moral effect and never intended to be carried out. The tradition is that women were compelled to do the field work, so many men were jailed. Mast, C. Z., *Mast Family History,* Scottdale, Pa., 1911, p. 184. Henry Funk and George Kriebel, a Schwenkfelder, were also clapped in jail at Reading for refusing the Oath, and, intercession having been made by several prominent men, the Supreme Executive Council rebuked the local Justice and advised him to be more considerate and lenient in the future and not to antagonize harmless people unnecessarily. *Colonial Records,* XI, p. 269. For full discussion of this case, see *Pennsylvania German,* Vol. XI, pp. 660 ff.

128. Cf. *ante,* pp. 21 ff.
Cf. Gibbons, Phoebe Earl, *Pennsylvania Dutch and Other Essays,* Phil. 1882, p. 111.
George Kriebel, a Schwenkfelder, was called before Justice Limback of

Northampton County for not taking the oath. What happened follows in his own words. "Mr. Wetzel said, why can't you take this Test now? I said, there are a few words in it which keeps me backwards. Mr. Wetzel said, Which words? I said, to renounce and refuse all allegiance to the King, his Heirs and Successors. Wetzel said, why can't you give up the allegiance to George the III, etc? I said, I have promised all allegiance to him when I was naturalized and I am afraid that I might be guilty of perjury before God, and in my conscience, and moreover it is very uncertain upon which side the victory will fall out, therefore I can't do it for the present time. Then Mr. Wetzel said, So do you declare yourself for George the III of Great Britain? No sir, I don't declare myself for him, but because it is so uncertain upon what side God will bestow this victory . . . . N.B. I promised Mr. Wetzel and Limback that I would be true to the state, as much as were in my power in paying any lawful taxes or other charges and in carting or anything they should want, except in bearing arms, which was against my conscience." Kriebel, Howard W. Article, *Christopher Schultz* in *Pennsylvania German,* Vol. XI, Lititz, Pa., 1910, pp. 661 ff.

129. Cf. Correll Articles, *Funk,* p. 18 and *Funkleute,* pp. 19-21. *Menn. Lex.,* Vol. II.

130. *Pennsylvania Archives,* First Series, Vol. VI, p. 572, Harrisburg, 1852, 53. Cf. *post,* p. 30.
A Mennonite preacher, Henry Funck, took oath to the State and did good military service, in consequence of which, he was read out of the church. *Pa. Archives,* 2nd Ser. Vol. II, p. 463.

131. Cf. *post,* pp. 28 f.
The Supreme Executive Council wrote to a Northampton County Justice in the case of a Schwenkfelder who had been sentenced to jail for refusing the oath. "The Council . . . have directed me . . . to remind you that the law is clear and explicit as to the circumstances which shall justify the commitment of a person refusing or neglecting to take the test. . . . . I am directed by the the Council to desire you to be careful not to extend this law further than the words of it will justify, etc." The Schwenkfelder was then ordered set free. Kriebel, *op. cit.,* p. 662.

132. Cf. *ante,* note 131.

133. *Pa. Archives,* First Series, Vol. VI, p. 572.

134. Kriebel, Howard W., Article, *Christopher Schultz,* in *Pennsylvania German,* Vol. XI, p. 659, Lititz, Pa., 1910.

135. Most of the Schwenkfelders took the oath in 1778 when a definite day was set when it must be taken or all rights of citizenship would be lost. Although they "had to reconcile that and Romans; 13:1", Schultz, C., *Skizzen aus dem Lecha-Thale,* p. 51.

136. During the same period, similar oaths of allegiance to the new revolutionary governments were required of the inhabitants of the neighboring states. Smith, *Mennonites,* p. 255.

137. *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania,* 1682-1801, Volume IX, Harrisburg, 1902, p. 239.

138. *Ibid.,* p. 240.

139. *Ibid.,* p. 241.

140. *Statutes at Large,* Vol. IX, p. 305.

141. Beck, Abraham Reincke, *Extracts from the Brethren's House and Congregation Diaries of the Moravian Church at Lititz, Pa., relating to the Revolutionary War,* in *Penn-Germania,* Vol. II, Cleona, Pa., p. 859.

142. *Statutes at Large,* Vol. IX, p. 406.

143. Cf. *ante,* note 127.

144. H. W. Kriebel, the Schwenkfelder historian, says that a study of the war record of the Schwenkfelders and their descendants warrants these conclusions.
"(1) No one directly connected with the religious society or church of the Schwenkfelders took up arms for active service in any war since the immigration.
(2) Descendants have been engaged in every war since the Revolution . . .

(3) No Schwenkfelder ever refused to pay the fines imposed for non-performance of military service.
(4) No Schwenkfelder was ever suspected of treason, toryism or disloyalty to the government.
(5) Less hardship befell them than most other noncombatants." Kriebel, *Schwenkfelders,* p. 160.

145. Funk, Christian, *A Mirror for All Mankind; or instructive examples from the life and conduct of Christian Funk, a faithful minister of the word of God, among the Mennonites, during and many years after the American Revolution,* translated from the German, Norristown, Pa., 1814. Written down in 1809. Cf. Rosenberger, E. D., *The Funkites,* in the *Penn-Germania,* Vol. I, No. 11-12, Cleona, Pa., 1912.
146. Funk, *op. cit.,* pp. 8, 9.
147. *Ibid.,* p. 9.
148. *Ibid.,* p. 9.
149. *Ibid.,* p. 10.
150. *Ibid.,* p. 16.
151. *Ibid.,* pp. 23 f.
152. *Ibid.,* p. 25.
153. *Ibid.,* p. 30.
154. *Ibid.,* p. 32.
155. The Funkite sect lingered on till about 1850, when it disappeared. Rosenberger, *op. cit.,* p. 193. The Quakers had a similar, though more important split. The Society of Free or "Hickory" Quakers grew out of differences of opinion among them on the merits of the Revolution and of fighting in it. Gen. Mifflin was a "Hickory" Quaker. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia,* Vol. II, pp. 1258 f.
156. For example, Gen. Lacey of Bucks County says in September, 1777, that a great part of the disaffected in Bucks County made a plea of conscience in refusing to bear arms. Siebert, *Pennsylvania Loyalists,* p. 34.
157. Occasionally pacifists worked out their fines for refusing militia service by working as teamsters, etc. Richards, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, *The Pennsylvania German in the Revolutionary War, Pa.—German Society Proceedings,* Vol. XVII, p. 459. Cf. Schultz, Christopher, *Skizzen aus dem Lecha-Thale,* Allentown, 1880, p. 15; and *Colonial Records,* XII, p. 432.
158. June 21, 1780, on account of the difficulties of getting wagons it was ordered to all Waggon Masters, "that they impress any Horses, Waggons or Gears, distinguishing between such as have taken the Oaths or Affirmations of Allegiance and those who have not." *Ibid.,* pp. 394 and 432. Cf. Pa. *Archives, Second Series,* III, p. 376. Persons not taking the oath of allegiance were required by the Committee of Safety to give shoes, stockings, blankets, etc., *Colonial Records,* Vol. XI, pp. 328, 329 and 339.
159. Kuhns, *German and Swiss Settlements,* p. 213.
160. *Papers Read before the Lancaster County Historical Society,* Lancaster, Pa., 1906, Vol. X, No. 6, pp. 208-9.
161. *Pa. Archives,* First Series, VIII, p. 38.
162. Quoted, Kuhns, *op. cit.,* p. 214.
163. See Appendix, Petition of 1775.
164. Sachse, *German Sectarians,* Vol. 2, p. 424.
165. Gibbons, *Pennsylvania Dutch,* p. 183.
166. *Pa. Archives,* Vol. IX, p. 356. Cf. Gibbons, *Pennsylvania Dutch,* p. 183.
167. *Pa. Archives,* Vol. V, pp. 405 f.
168. On the same day Lieut. Col. Bartram Galbraith wrote a long account of the same affair to Wharton. The purpose of the expedition was to collect some fines which these men had contracted by not being present on muster or battalion day. The account of Col. Atlee, also, agrees in all respects with that of Magistrate Bayley. *Pa. Archives,* Vol. V, pp. 407 f.
169. *Lancaster County Historical Society Proceedings,* Vol. X, No. 6, p. 209.
170. Rosengarten, J. G. *The Pennsylvania German as Patriot and Soldier, Pennsylvania German Magazine,* Vol. 6, No. 6, Lebanon, Pa., 1906, p. 164.

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Anabaptism in The Tyrol

A Review and Discussion*

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Tyrol and Vorarlberg are two old Austrian provinces, south of Bavaria and Suabia, adjoining Switzerland (The Grisons) on the west. Tyrol itself slopes down to Venetia. Strategic roads across the Alps, especially Brenner Pass, have often made Tyrol and Vorarlberg the goal of political aspirations and the scene of bitter wars. The Hapsburg princes defended their crownlands here in these 11,000 square miles of mountain chains. The people of Tyrol are for the most part Germans. Italians live in the southern parts. In the main the Tyrolese were, and to a great extent still are, mountain peasants. Very early, however, the discovery of ore deposits (copper and silver) created a fairly wealthy industrial group and led to a growing influx of foreign laborers, especially into the Inn valley in northern Tyrol, the center of the mining district. At the end of the fifteenth century one of the chief mints of the Holy Roman Empire was established in Hall, on the river Inn whence for the first time silver coins were issued on a large scale. Rapid economic progress was responsible for the social pressure which early weighed heavily on Tyrol. The spread of the money-economy and the beginning of a capitalistic social order resulted in foreign financial control of the ore mines. The native miners were gradually excluded from their ancient guild mining privileges and suffered from the competition of foreign miners who migrated as common laborers into the Tyrol mining regions. Vested feudal interests and the profit urge of international investors competed for returns. The age was blind to the need of the working class and its economic significance and serious evils arose. Political troubles accompanied the transformation of the age-old social organization. Already in the fifteenth century conditions

*Dr. George Loesche, *Archivalische Beitraege zur Geschichte des Taeufertums und des Protestantismus in Tirol und Vorarlberg.* (Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft fuer die Geschichte des Protestantismus im ehemaligen und im neuen Oesterreich, 47 Jahrgang, "Tirolensia, Taeufertum und der Protestantismus". XII, 54 pages, Wien und Leipzig, 1926).
(Published with the support of the Academy of Science of Vienna, Austria, and dedicated to Professor Dr. Johann Loserth on his eightieth birthday.)

indicated the socially unstable background upon which the radical movements took place in the Reformation period.[1]

The dominant classes strongly upheld Catholicism which in itself was a conservative social bulwark. Tyrol was a favored residence of the Emperor Maximilian just at the dawn of the Reformation period. His presence was another conservative influence at the time. In addition to this several powerful bishops such as the Bishop of Salzburg exercised an oppressive control over the Tyrolese population. This religio-political fusion, aided by the rapidly changing economic conditions, prepared the soil for the seeds of the Reformation ideals which were coming over from Middle Germany. Indeed the Reformation took root in the center of the the mining district as early as the spring of 1521 where Dr. Jacob Strauss, a monk of Berchtesgaden, spread Lutheran ideas. He was followed by the humanist, Urbanus Rhegius, better known later as one of the leaders of the Lutheran Reformation in Augsburg, Germany. At a date thus far uncertain, at least as early as 1526 (Loserth), Anabaptism arose in Tyrol. There are many evidences of the sweeping power of the entire evangelical movement in the Tyrol, and just as many proofs of the bloody persecution which followed. Tyrol, the "eye and shield" of the Hapsburg dynasty, was of all the crownlands the one most exposed to the new movement, but in no other land did the Catholic authorities achieve such an almost perfect extinction of Protestantism as in Tyrol and Vorarlberg. Under the comparative success of the Tyrolese Peasant Revolt the people had achieved some political and religious freedom. But as soon as the Catholic powers regained their position those achievements were brutally done away with. This somewhat complex political situation in Tyrol may account to some extent for the rigorous severity with which the old order soon was renewed.

It is strange that in leading German and English church histories, the once vigorous Protestantism of Tyrol is almost completely neglected. That the incipient Evangelical movement was quickly crushed is no reason for not giving Tyrol and Vorarlberg a distinguished chapter in the History of the Reformation. Very little has been done, however, in special studies of the entire movement in Tyrol. Professor G. Loesche, the author of the

1. The economic and social history of the Tyrol is being illuminated by the researches of Professor Jacob Strieder and his Seminar in Economic History at the University of Munich, Germany. It is to be hoped that his work will also shed new light on the rise of Anabaptism in Tyrol. Professor Strieder is also custodian of the central Fugger Archive in Augsburg and is an authority on the Fuggers who were the principal owners of the Tyrol mines. He is aware of the significance of the Anabaptist movement in Tyrol and promised the present writer to be on the lookout for possible material especially concerning Pilgram Marbeck and his followers in the Tyrol mines.

publication under discussion, is responsible for a *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Oesterreich* (second edition, 1921) in which the Protestant movement in Tyrol is described in detail. Unfortunately it seems that Leopold von Ranke's standard work on the *History of the Reformation in Germany,* in which Tyrol is scarcely touched still sets the style for modern writers. The recent critical edition of his *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Munich, 1925, 6 volumes) by Prof. Paul Joachimsen under the auspices of the "Deutsche Akademie" does not furnish additional material. Likewise F von Bezold's *Geschichte der deutschen Reformation* (Berlin, 1890), has nothing to say on the Tyrolese evangelical movement. Neither K. Kaser's treatment of the Reformation in Moritz Hartmann's *Welt-Geschichte* series nor Preserved Smith's *Age of the Reformation,* present more than a modicum of material. Only Karl Mueller's *Kirchengeschichte* (Tuebingen, 1911) recognizes the significance of Tyrol in the Reformation period, stating that Anabaptism spread there so thoroughly that the older Lutheran movement almost disappeared. The most detailed survey of the history of the Anabaptists in Tyrol is to be found in A. H. Newman's *History of Anti-Pedobaptism* (Philadelphia, 1897), a remarkable treatment of the subject. It is far superior to R. Heath's *Anabaptism from its Rise at Zwicken to its Fall at Munster* (sic!!) 1521-1536 (London, 1895), which is not reliable when the Tyrol is taken up.

Newman's classical discussion is indebted to Josef von Beck's *Geschichtsbuecher der Wiedertaeufer in Oesterreich-Unaarn* (Fontes rerum Austriacarum XLIII, Vienna, 1863) and to what Professor Joh. Loserth published on the same basis in *Der Anabaptismus in Tirol* (Archiv fur Oesterreichische Geschichte, 1892-93). It is difficult to understand how European writers could miss these and similar studies. There are a few other original contributions along this line, which Dr. Loesche lists in his bibliography, such as Ammann, Beck, Kripp, Wolkan, and various articles in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon.* In the latter are to be found Loserth's excellent expositions of Austrian Anabaptism in general. Probably because the *Mennonite Lexicon* is still incomplete, Dr. Loesche refrained from enumerating these articles. One statement in Loesche's bibliography, page 156, "Wolkan, *Geschichte der Hutterischen Brueder,* 1923" is confusing. Wolkan published *Die Hutterer* at Vienna in 1918. But what Dr. Loesche refers to is the *Geschichtbuch der Hutterischen Brueder herausgegeben von den Hutterischen Brueder in Amerika, durch Prof. Dr. R. Wolkan,* 1923, *Standoff Colony bei Macleod, Alta., Canada.* Since Loesche mentions Loserth's review of this book it is not out of place to call attention to the recent review of the same publication in the *Theologisches*

Literaturblatt, No. 22, 1926, by the late Professor Boehmer, whose criticism should be accepted by everyone using Wolkan's edition. Loesche fails to mention: von Beck-Loserth, *Georg Blaurock und die Anfaenge des Anabaptismus in Graubuenden und Tirol,* Monatshefte der Comenius Gesellschaft, VII; further, A. Nicoladoni, *Joh. Buenderlin von Linz und die oberoesterreichischen Taufergemeinden* 1525 *bis* 1531 (Berlin, 1893), with reference to the Rattenberg Anabaptist communities. H. Amman's studies on the *Wiedertaeufer im . . . . Pustertal* appeared in the same journal in 1897. On Marbeck, the article written by L. Keller in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* should be noted. However, this latter is in need of correction.

Beck and Loserth drew material from Hungarian and Bohemian archives which had bearing on the Tyrol Anabaptism. Professor Loesche's main sources were the documents stored in Innsbruck, Tyrol (Landes-Regierungs-Archiv formerly the k. k. Statthalterei Archiv), which were seemingly not exhausted by Beck, Loserth, and others.

Loesche's scientific apparatus is rather unique and might serve as an example for similar reproductions of archival materal of Anabaptist documents. The preface includes a good survey of the sources. The extensive footnote (note 12, page V) on the various printed reports on Tyrolese archives helps to clear up one of the many difficulties concerning the Anabaptist material in European archives, material which is often hard to find because the documents often appear in locations where they were not to be expected at all. The author also explains how many of the documents dealing with Protestantism in general (including Anabaptism) were "lost" by deliberate destruction. Such facts must be reckoned with in any study of Anabaptism.

Loesche explains that his differentiation of Anabaptism and Protestantism was made merely to avoid confusion. Indeed the Anabaptist movement as portrayed in Loesche's source material stands out in clear relief while what he calls Protestantism is rather blurred.

Anabaptism finally was the core of the Protestant revolution in Tyrol. The Lutheran movement faltered and was almost wiped out at the first fierce attack of persecution. Calvinism and Schwenckfeldianism had very little to do with the Tyrolese Protestantism.[1]

The extent of the Anabaptist movement cannot be clearly determined. It is known, however, that the movement spread over the whole of Tyrol and further. Court records and martyr stories are the only extant

1. An essay by the late Dr. D. Gustav Bossert on *Hans Ungnads* (leader of Protestantism in Steiermark) *Stellung zu Kaspar von Schwenkfelds Schriften* was published in pages 157-161 of the *Jahrbuch* mentioned above.

sources, except the chronicles of the Hutterite Brethren. Unfortunately Loesche includes only material dealing with the territory within the boundaries of Tyrol in the old Austria-Hungary of 1914. By omitting material referring to regions outside of this boundary, he certainly has deprived us of valuable material needed for comparisons. A religious movement of the sixteenth century should always be presented in the setting of the entire complex.

Loesche mentions 120 localities where Anabaptist activities were reported. Of the 29 political districts (counties) only 9 appear without Anabaptists. The Inn valley with Hall, Schwaz and Rattenburg seems to have been the hot-bed. With its mining camps, foundries and the navigable river this valley was the industrial and commercial center of the land. On page 18, Loesche mentions eight hundred Anabaptists among twelve hundred inhabitants of Schwaz as early as 1523 (?). On page 2, Loesche even mentions the year 1521 as the beginning of the Anabaptist movement in Tyrol, but the date is certainly questionable. Loesche's account extends to the year 1609 when the reports refer to Hutterites from Moravia who preferred their fatherland Tyrol as a mission-field or a refuge when their Moravian settlements were disturbed. The end of the sixteenth century, the height of the Austrian Counter-Reformation, put a definite end to original Anabaptism in Tyrol. The beginning of the movement remain. indefinite, so much that further investigation might bring surprises and Zurich as the cradle of Anabaptism in dispute. It seems unquestioned, however, that the main influences came from the Swiss Brethren, especially from 1525 on when heavy persecution came upon the communities in Switzerland. Some of the leaders were driven out of the country and their missionary zeal was stimulated by being cut off from their communities. Outstanding among these is Georg Blaurock, a former monk from Chur in The Grisons, with whose baptism the Anabaptist community was organized in Zurich in January, 1525. He went in 1529 to Tyrol where he is reported to have done great work. He followed the footsteps of those who were put to death for Anabaptism until he himself was martyred at the stake in Clausen, Tyrol, on September 5, 1529.

It is evident from the material which Professor Loesche presents that the type of Anabaptism in Tyrol did not differ materially from that of the Swiss-German group. It would seem that the main difference between the Swiss and the early Tyrolese Anabaptists was that the latter were first under the influence of Lutheran teaching. Dissatisfied with it they turned to Anabaptsm. This was the case, e. g., with Pilgram Marbeck according to his own testimony. He was a mining engineer and a mine magistrate, one of the genuine Tyrol Anabaptists and later a prominent leader in the

South-German group.[1] Little is known of Marbeck's religious activities in Tyrol. Loesche's sources do not add anything of importance. Marbeck's propagation and defense of Anabaptism in South-Germany whither he fled in 1528 (or 1527) puts him in a clearer light. His extant writings distinctly represent the Swiss type. Marbeck's position in the early Tyrolese movement still needs a special investigation.

The movement in Tyrol was the mother of one of the three distinct historical and sociological families of Anabaptists, "Swiss Brethren", "Mennonites" ("Doopsgezinde") and "Hutterites". It was Jacob called Huter (hatter) of the Puster valley in Tyrol who organized the Hutterian Brotherhood. When Blaurock, the Swiss missionary, had suffered the death penalty in Tyrol (Sept. 6, 1529) Huter seems to have taken his place as a leader. His influence extended to those Anabaptists who found refuge near Austerlitz, Moravia, protected by feudal lords for economic reasons. There they had established a "Community of Goods", one of the few points which distinguished this group from all the other Anabaptists. Since Huter sent followers to that communistic community he probably cherished religious communism before his group joined them in 1532 escaping a new fury of persecution in Tyrol. Huter is responsible for the communistic order and discipline which they have preserved to the present day under his name. The Tyrolese group still appears as the major part of the Hutterite communistic settlement. Says Bertha W. Clark, a recent student of the 3000 Hutterites in South Dakota, Manitoba and Alberta: "The Tyrolese strain seems to be the dominant one both temperamentally and linguistically. Hutterian people still call their language the Tyrolese."[2] Loesche's Tyrolensia are full of references showing the continuous relationship of the Hutterites to Tyrol which was their preferred mission field and temporary refuge.

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1. Loserth-Hege, *Studien zu Pilgram Marbeck* in *Gedenkschrift zum 400-jaehrigen Jubilaeum der Mennoniten,* Ludwigshafen a. Rh., 1925, pp. 134-282, especially page 138. The literary legacy of Marbeck is soon to be published under the editorship of Loserth and Hege in the original German language.

2. Bertha W. Clark, *The Hutterian Communities,* The Journal of Political Economy, Vol. XXXII, Chicago, 1924, p. 482. Her study is based on personal observations in these communities. Cf. also R. Liefmann, *Die kommunistischen Gemeinden in Nord Amerika,* in "Jahrbuecher fuer Nationaloekonomie und Statistik," Vol. 91, 1908, reprinted separately under the same title, Jena (Verlag Fischer), 1922, pp. 60-82. For further literature on the Hutterites, see Correll, *Das schweizerische Taufer-Mennonitentum,* Tuebingen, 1925, pp. 16 and 19. According to Mr. J. Horsch, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, the linguistic identity of the present Hutterite speech with the genuine Tyrolese German dialect is somewhat dubious. Since a specific philological investigation has not been made a final judgment cannot be formed. However, the literary documents of the Hutterites give a rather definite impression of the Tyrolese character of their written language. At any rate their language has nothing in

Marbeck and Huter seem to have been the most outstanding and influential leaders of the Anabaptists of Tyrol. While their main work was probably done outside their native land they proved how deeply rooted the Anabaptist spirit must have been in Tyrol. Unfortunately, also in the case of Huter, Loesche's material has only a few meager contributions. We learn of four Anabaptists in August, 1529, confessing on the torture bench that Huter was their bishop. In September, 1532, a writ of attachment was issued against a peasant because he gave refuge to Huter frequently. Under date of March 10, 1532 it is reported that "Jacob Huter with others expects to move from Welsberg to Moravia" (p. 38). This official statement marks the beginning of the Hutterian community proper, the most important outgrowth of the Tyrol group. There is almost no year in the recorded material, in which we fail to hear of active relations between the Hutterians and Tyrol. Numerous ordinances were given by the Tyrol government to sailors, custom officers, etc., to examine passengers. There are several references prohibiting the "backcarriage" of Anabaptists by ship owners.

Another Anabaptist movement which probably owes its origin to Tyrol was he one which arose in the neighboring Venetia to the south. Loesche's material has one rather obscure reference along this line (1589, p. 45).[1]

Loesche's Tyrolensia begins with a general introduction and survey (XII, 1-6). Then follow general mandates against Anabaptists which were issued with increasing severity from August, 1527 on. In this connection Loesche reproduces an examination formula used in the trial of the Anabaptist bishops, as well as forms of revocation. Then material relating to the movement proper is given according to the alphabetically listed places. Under each place the material appears in chronological order (pp. 15-51). There are indices, one for localities, one for persons. Both indices contain reference to literature, a very practical arrangement.

It is not clear whether Professor Loesche's reproduction of archival material was done under the auspices of the German "Verein fur Reform-

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common with the "Pennsylvania-German". It is an uncorrupted Bavarian-Tyrolese-Carinthian type. Cf. the appendix to the edition of the Hutterite *Geschicht-Buch,* by Professor Dr. Wolkan containing a dictionary of rare expressions in this chronicle. J. Loserth's informative article, *Geschichtsbuecher der mahrischen Taufer* in *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* II, pp. 91-96 is worth noting. When this essay was ready for print we learned of Dr. Robert Friedman's very attractive study in *Der Wiener Zeitschrift fuer Volkskunde,* 32. Jahrgang, Heft 314 (1927) on *Die Habaner in der Slovakei.* The "Habaner" are remnants of the Hutterites who were forced into Catholicism and stayed in Europe. Also their "Sixteenth century German speech" ("Habanerisch") now dying out, is according to Dr. Friedmann a linguistic phenomenon.

1. Cf. K. Benrath, *Die Wiedertaufer im Venetianischen,* Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 1885, I.

tionsgeschichte", which is just now preparing for the complete collection of all European archival material concerning Anabaptists. The material on Tyrol and Vorarlberg gathered by various students within the last 75 years should soon be organized and combined into a unified whole.

To adequately describe the life, principles and fate of the Tyrol Anabaptists all collections should be examined. A few conspicuous facts in the present material might be worthwhile mentioning. There was a particular mode of greeting which seems to have been common among the Tyrol Anabaptists. They touch their hat and say: "Gott gruess Dich Bruder." "Gott dank Dir Bruder" is the answer (p. 7). Similar reports are known regarding Anabaptists in Germany.[1] It is interesting to note that occasionally the authorities point to this custom as a help for the police forces in recognizing Anabaptists. Loesche also reports that it was customary for the Anabaptists in Tyrol to mark their houses.

While Loesche's record of the Lutheran movement contains many more references to propaganda by way of literature, there is one reference in the accounts of the Anabaptists (page 18, referring to Schwaz), where it appears that illustrated books were distributed to win people to Anabaptism. This would indicate a hitherto rather unknown means of propaganda by the Anabaptists. Loesche reports a decree of March 3, 1528, that such books should be confiscated and further investigations should be made to find from whence they came and who was patronizing this service. The reference to books containing pictures for the use of the illiterate would suggest a new line of thought to those who believe so strongly that Anabaptism was to a great extent spread by way of pamphlets and not so much by mere circles which eventually had learned members to interpret the Bible.

As an appendix Loesche reproduces the hymn "Hoerend ein Lobgsang unserm Gott" found in a hand-written song-book of 1612. Loesche states that this hymn had not been printed but it is to be found in the hymn-collection, *Die Lieder der Hutterischen Bruder*, Scottdale, Pa., 1914, pp. 741 ff., with very few variations. For details see Loesche, page 51.

It appears without question that the moving power behind tne persecution was the state rather than the church authorities. Likewise the charge against the Anabaptists was political rather than religious. The common Anabaptist principle of following the conscience rather than man (government) could easily be interpreted as a disregard of authority.

1. Cf. Cornelius, *Geschichte des Munsterer Aufruhrs*, 1860, II, 48, referring to South Germany. Wappler, *Die Tauferbewegung in Thueringen*, 1913, p. 240, describes a slightly different form of greeting common among the Anabaptists in Middle Germany.

However no political aggression on the part of the Tyrolese Anabaptists can be proved. They were true to the overwhelming type of the non-resistant peaceful group. In spite of this evident attitude, the Tyrolese Anabaptists were classified with the Muensterites as early as March 1534 when new ordinances appeared referring to the political danger from the Anabaptists who were said to be about to overthrow the government as happened at Muenster (Loesche, page 11). A new emphasis was given to older laws, the death penalty was again asked and, on this occasion, even the judges were threatened in case they should be lenient. This effect of the Muenster episode can be observed throughout the Holy Roman Empire. Everywhere the happenings at Muenster invoked a new and more severe policy of persecution which disregarded altogether the great chasm between the Muensterites and the overwhelming mass of peaceful Anabaptists. "Muenster" became the great "bogey" and the excuse for bloody persecution by the authorities.

The Anabaptists in Tyrol had to face Ferdinand ("Ferdinandus" he is called in the Anabaptist documents). He was the brother of the Emperor Charles and as ruler of the crownlands had the commission to defend the empire against the Turks. The danger from the Turks upset the society of the period more than the religious troubles did, which in fact very often were set aside to unite the forces against the attacking Turks. The hereditary territories of the Hapsburgs were exposed to the Turkish danger. This threat even had its effect on the non-resistant attitude of the Anabaptists. The oldest group in Moravia split over the question whether defense with arms should be taken up or not when the political authorities asked for assistance. In the main, however, the Anabaptist attitude was strongly non-resistant. This is especially evident when the Anabaptists advised people not to take up arms against the Turks, a view with which they were generally so much accused that the Anabaptists were even charged with being allies of the Turks. This foolish charge shows what was in the air and it might help to explain the extreme cruelty which the Anabaptists had to suffer. Besides Tyrol was considered as one of the most important defense lines of the Hapsburgs. It was surrounded by two of the strongest Catholic states, the Duchy of Bavaria and the Bishopric of Salzburg, all of these bringing extra pressure on the government against the Anabaptists.

The methods of persecution applied in Tyrol indicate the utmost desire to uproot the movement. Special inquisitors and state troops were organized to search the country. Even the houses where Anabaptist meetings were held were destroyed. Drowning, beheading, burning, were exacted without consideration. Only pregnant women (following an

ancient custom) were spared until they had given birth. The child then was given to orthodox Catholic people and immediately afterwards the death sentence was enforced upon the mother. Leonard Schiemer (Loesche, pp. 7, 23f.), apparently a cultured former priest-monk, was the first of the Tyrol Anabaptists to be executed (January 14, 1528). A hymn of his of eleven verses is preserved in the *Ausbund* (No. 31), "Wir bitten Dich ewiger Gott. . . . " None of the *Ausbund* songs reflect the fate of Anabaptism in such a vivid poetical way as this does. There is hardly a more fitting picture of the situation of Tyrol. It was Leopold von Ranke who emphasized similar literary testimonies as helpful historical sources. They deserve no less respect than the type of material dug out by Professor Loesche. We quote the following verses:[1]

Thine holy Place they have destroyed,
Thine altar overthrown
And, reaching forth their bloody hands
Have foully slain Thine own;
And we alone, a little flock,
The few who still remain,
Are exiles wandering through the land
In sorrow and in pain.

We are, alas, like scattered sheep,
The shepherd not in sight,
Each far away from home and hearth
And, like the birds of night
That hide away; in rocky clefts
We have our rocky hold,
Yet near at hand, as for the birds,
There waits the hunter bold.

We wander in the forests dark
With dogs upon our track
And, like the captive, silent lamb,
Men bring us, prisoners, back.
They point to us amid the throng
And with their taunts offend,
And long to let the sharpened ax
On heretics descend.

Loesche's sources show that the Anabaptists were sympathetically treated by their countrymen, that jury and hangmen objected to performing their part. The authorities even went so far as to justify themselves by offering the last sacraments before execution. The condemned Anabaptists refused and even displayed such heroism in their martyrdom that the public finally was excluded from the executions. It was soon discovered that their example attracted even more people into their circles. Finally the death sentence was reduced to a penalty (galley-slavery),

1. Quoted from the translation by H. S. Burrage in his *Baptist Hymn Writers and Their Hymns.*

which was considered as a chance for their conversion to Catholicism. Usually this kind of treatment amounted to a death penalty. It seems that this measure goes back to the initiative of Ferdinand. The same measure was employed in Switzerland later on. The galley-slavery of Anabaptists deserves further investigation. The literature on the subject offered by Loesche will be welcome. The following titles should be added: A. Fluri, *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Bernischen Taufer,* in *Blaetter fuer bernische Geschichte,* VIII, 1912; J. Heiz, *Taeufer im Aargau,* in *Taschenbuch der historischen Gesellschaft des Kantons Aargau fuer das Jahr* 1902; and P. Wernle, *Der Schweizerische Protestantismus im* 18. *Jahrhundert,* Tuebingen, 1923, I, 113ff. Loesche's report shows the despair of the authorities because they could not get rid of the Anabaptists in spite of all the cruel measures employed. Very revealing is the fact that as early as 1530 King Ferdinand chose to send his chaplain to Tyrol to win certain Anabaptists back to the Catholic church (p. 22). Later the Jesuits (founded in 1533) had to do the work among the Protestant dissenters. It seems that the efforts of the Jesuit order with headquarters in Innsbruck, Tyrol, brought the counter-reformation in Austria to a complete success by the end of the 16th century.

Professor Loesche's unfounded assertion that Thuringia was the hearth of Anabaptism is disappointing (p. 1). The movement in Tyrol, he suggests, was due to neighboring Switzerland and to the intimate relations of the Tyrol miners with Thuringia. The influence of Swiss Anabaptists is generally accepted. Loesche, however, seems to have taken this very little into account. He fails to refer to the definitive study by Loserth on Blaurock and the beginnings of Anabaptism in Tyrol. He fails to produce the least bit of evidence for his astounding assertion that Thuringia was the headquarters of Anabaptism. Historiography in the field of Anabaptism has today reached the point that such generalizing statements without proof should be impossible. There is P. Wappler's *Tauferbewegung in Thuringen* (Jena, 1913), which contains no proof whatsoever for Loesche's sensational suggestion. To take Thuringia as "Stammsitz" of Anabaptism contradicts all established findings of this day. To jump to this conclusion from the mere fact that there were inter-relations between the miners of Thuringia and Tyrol must be left to Professor Loesche's fancy. We also would have liked the author to be more explicit when he stated that Anabaptism in Tyrol did not at all exhibit "dangerous" forms "wie anderwaerts". "Meist huldigte man unter den 40 Gruppen, in die die Sekte bald zerfiel, der milderen Hutterischen" (p. 1). The phrase "wie anderwaerts" is especially misleading. Among the 40 groups (from where comes this large number?) the Hutterite group is by no means the only

"milder" one, as might be inferred. The latter is one distinct (communistic) type of the quite overwhelmingly peaceful Anabaptism. It should be elementary for the present student of the movement to differentiate between the peacefully passive and the militantly aggressive type of Anabaptism. The Tyrol movement is just another illustration of the fact that the peaceful attitude was characteristic. This is the more significant as indeed the miners of Tyrol had a large part in the movement(Loesche, VIII, 20, 26, 39 and passim) while they are usually considered as aggressive radicals. Loesche and other writers prove that the stratum of miners had no aggressive influence on the Tyrol Anabaptism. Pilgram Marbeck who came direct from the mining camps of Tyrol where he was an engineer and a magistrate, seems to have been the exponent of the miners among the Anabaptists who did not translate the economic unrest into political and social revlot. "Anabaptism" as an attempt to depart from the wicked world and form communities under the order of pure Christian love seems to have furnished satisfaction to the oppressed. There are significant indications in Loesche's material which complete the former reports proving that the social make-up of the Tyrol movement was rather mixed and not at all limited to one economic class. Besides the participation of mining people and peasants, we learn of ex-priests and ex-monks, school teachers, and clerks, who were "afflicted" with Anabaptism (cf. Loesche 23, 32, 35, 36, 47 and passim). Noblemen are reported to have given asylum to the persecuted Anabaptists. Probably it would not be difficult to prove that there was scarcely any connection between Anabaptism and the Tyrol peasant revolt. There is a report of 1532 (p. 39) according to which a certain Anabaptist was to be examined concerning the activities of Michael Gaismayer, the famous and successful captain of the Tyrolese peasants who also stood for certain evangelical demands. Under the date of August 19, 1530, Loesche mentions a writ against M. Gaismayer who was said to have plotted against King Ferdinand because of the king's opposition to the followers of Luther. In 1548 a certain Leonhard Gaismayer asked for the legacy of his brother Erhart who with his family died in the Hutterian community in Moravia. Loesche states in this connection that the peasant leader Gaismeyer had a different first name. It is unfortunate that Loesche (who makes the movement in Tyrol to begin as early as 1521) did not do more to correct the old confusion of political revolt and Anabaptism displayed by H. Wopfner, *Die Lage Tirols zu Ausgang des Mittelalters und die Ursache des Bauernkriegs,* Berlin, Leipzig, 1908. The method used by Loesche in the presentation of his material would make it rather easy to examine the exact relation between Anabaptism and the Peasant Revolt in those localities which were conspicuous n the Tyrol Peasant Revolt.

Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature

Mennonitica Americana III. 1867-1886

Introduction*

The number of items to be listed for the period from 1867 to 1927 is so large, and the landmarks of the literature in this period are so few, that it was found best simply to divide the sixty years into approximately three equal periods of twenty years each. Within these periods the items will be listed according to the various Mennonite groups. After 1867 the literature produced by the smaller groups of Mennonites increases considerably in volume, and the immigration of the Russian Mennonites in the period following 1873 adds a number of new groups to the several divisions already in existence. In this period also falls the organization of the new "Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church", as well as the Central Conference Mennonite Church, and several minor groups. The grouping of the literature according to the various branches permits the reader to observe more easily the literature of each group and to trace its progress. In the period presented in this issue the mass of items is unusually large, so large that it was found impossible to include the total number which is something over 210 items. For this reason only the literature of the main branch of the Mennonite Church is presented inasmuch as it far outweighs that of the other branches in amount, there being about 150 items alone for this group.

It will be observed that the productions of the publishing establishment established by J. F. Funk at Elkhart in 1867, and incorporated as The Mennonite Publishing Company in 1875, form the major part of the literature of the old church in this period. The massing of Funk's imprints in a catalog such as this impresses very vividly upon the reader the large part which Funk's establishment played and the influence it must have exerted in the life and progress of the church. Indeed it is no wonder that his name became a household word among the Mennonites. The *Herald of Truth* in both English and German did very much to mold and shape opinion throughout the church and prepare the way for cooperation and unification. It should be noted that Funk also acted as publishing agent for the Russian Mennonites to some extent and for a time. He also exerted an influence upon this group through the *Mennonitische Rundschau* (formerly *Nebraska Ansiedler*), which was established in 1878 and is still in publication.

* For an introduction to the bibliography in general, see the January, 1927, issue of the Review.

It will not be necessary to refer to the many interesting developments in the literature of this period: the list speaks for itself. Notice the large number of pamphlets, the many reprints of hymnbooks of all sorts, the beginning of Sunday School literature in 1881 with the booklets issued under the sanction of the Lancaster Conference, and the series of Amish Conference Reports. Of writers, J. M. Brenneman occupies by far the most prominent place.

The same principles are followed in this section of the bibliography as in previous sections, and the same symbols are used. Key to the symbols will be found in the earlier issues. New symbols are SDG, S. D. Guengerich, Wellman, Iowa; LCHS, Lancaster County Historical Society Library.

The list in this issue is based chiefly on the collections of the Goshen College Library, Mennonite Historical Library at Scottdale, Pa., Schwenkfelder Historical Library at Pennsburg, Pa., and the library of S. M. Grubb at Philadelphia, Pa. Hearty appreciation is due to H. W. Kriebel, S. M. Grubb, John Horsch, L. J. Heatwole, S. D. Guengerich, and others for their valuable assistance in the work of compilation. It is quite probable that several dozen items have been missed in the compilation of this section. The cooperation of friends interested in the completion of the list will be highly appreciated.

MENNONITICA AMERICANA III. 1867-1886

1867 BERICHT DER VERHANDLUNGEN der sechsten jaehrlichen Zusammenkunft der Amischen Mennoniten-Diener und Bruederschaft, gehalten den 9., 10., 11., und 12., Juni 1867, am Wohnort von Johannes D. Yoder in der Naehe von West Liberty, Logan Co., Ohio.
Gedruckt in der Office des "Herold der Wahrheit", Elkhart, Indiana. pp. 13, 16 mo. SMG

—— Brenneman, John M.
PRIDE AND HUMILITY: A Discourse, Setting forth the Characteristics of the Proud and the Humble. By John M. Brenneman.
Elkhart, Indiana: John F. Funk, 1867. pp. 23, 12mo. GCL

—— Brenneman, J. M.
HOFFART UND DEMUTH einander gegenueber gestellt. Von J. M. Brenneman.
Elkhart, Indiana: Druck und Verlag von John F. Funk, 1867. pp. 24, large 12mo.

—— EINE UNPARTEIISCHE LIEDER-SAMMLUNG zum Gebrauch beim Oeffentlichen Gottesdienst und der Haeuslichen Erbauung. Eph. 5:6.
Lancaster, Pa.: Druck von Johann Baer's Soehnen, 1867. pp. 342, 16mo. MPH SMG

1868 Ausbund . . . .
Zum achtenmal verlegt in Pennsylvanien.
Lancaster: *Gedruckt bey Johann Baer's Soehnen,* 1868. pp. 812, 24, 52, 42, 12mo. GCL

—— Brenneman, J. M.
Christianity and War. A Sermon Setting forth the sufferings of Christians. The origin and import of the Christian name, Christianity and war considered, illustrated, and set forth. Also, a short address to the Mennonite Brethren, to which are appended several beautiful and well adapted hymns. By a minister of the Old Mennonite Church. * * II Cor. 10:3, 4.
Elkhart, Indiana: *John F. Funk, Printer and Publisher,* 1868 pp. 48, 16mo. MPH GCL

—— Brenneman, J. M.
Das Christenthum und der Krieg . . . . .
Elkhart, Ind.: *Druck und Verlag von John F. Funk,* 1868. pp. 54, 16mo. GCL SHL

—— Brenneman, John M.
Pride and Humility: A discourse setting forth the Characteristics of the Proud and the Humble. By John M. Brenneman. Second Edition.
Elkhart, Indiana: *John F. Funk, Publisher,* 1868. pp. 44, 16mo. GCL

—— Brenneman, Johannes M.
Hoffart und Demuth, einander gegenueber gestellt; nebst einer Weckstimme an die stolzen Frauen. Von Johannes M. Brenneman. Zweite Auflage.
Elkhart, Indiana: *Druck und verlag bei John F. Funk,* 1868. pp. 69, 16mo. GCL

—— Burkholder, Christian
Nuetzliche und erbauliche Anrede an die Jugend . . . . .
Fuenfte Auflage.
Elkhart, Indiana: *Druck und verlag bei John F. Funk,* 1868. pp. 95, 16mo. MPH GCL

—— Christliches Gemueths-Gespraech . . . . .
Elkhart, Indiana: *John F. Funk,* 1868. pp. 326, 16mo. GCL
"Nuetzliche und erbauliche Anrede an die Jugend" is bound in with separate dated title page, pp. 309-326.

—— A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs . . . . .
Fifth edition. With an appendage of German Hymns.
Singer's Glen, Rockingham Co., Virginia: *Published by Joseph Funk's Sons. John F. Funk, Elkhart, Indiana,* 1868. pp. 384, 24mo. GCL

—— Eby, Benjamin
Kurzgefasste Kirchengeschichte und Glaubenslehre . . . . .
Elkhart, Ind.: *Druck von John F. Funk,* 1868. pp. 177, 16mo. GCL SHL

1868 Die Ernsthafte Christenpflicht . . . .
Lancaster: Gedruckt und zu haben bey Johann Baer's Soehnen, 1868. pp. 212, 16mo. GCL

—— Hunsicker, M. Z., and J. C.
Kleine Sammlung Geistiger Gedichte Gewidmet von M. Z. Hunsicker und J. C. Hunsicker ihrer verstorbenen Gattin und Mutter.
Berlin, Canada, 1868. *Gedruckt bei J. F. Funk, Elkhart, Ind.* pp. 54, 16mo. GCL

—— Steiner, Ulrich
Die Angenehmen Stunden in Zion der Stillen Ruhe. **Ps. 28,9.
Sonnenberg, Wayne Co., Ohio, 1868. *Gedruckt bei J. F. Funk, Elkhart, Indiana.* pp. 63, 16mo. GCL SMG
Reprints: Elkhart 1869, ——; Biel (Schweiz) 1877.

—— Unparteyisches Gesangbuch . . . . Sechste verbesserte Auflage, mit einem Anhang.
Lancaster: Gedruckt und verlegt bey Johann Baer's Soehnen, 1868. *Stereotypirt bey S. Douglas Wyeth, Pear Strasse Nr. 7, Philadelphia.* pp. 483, 19. GCL

—— Verhandlungen der siebenten jaehrlichen Diener-Versammlung der Amischen Mennoniten-Bruederschaft, gehalten Am 31. May, und den 1, 2. und 3. Juni, 1868, in der Naehe von Belleville, Mifflin Co., Penn.
Lancaster: Gedruckt bey Johann Baer's Soehnen, 1868. pp. 24, 12mo. MPH SMG

Contains, pp. 16-24, "Eine Betrachtung die Taufe; oder Einleitung zum siebenten Artikel unseres Glaubensbekenntnisses, welchen alle Gemeinsglieder fuer recht und evangelisch erkannt, und gelobet haben darnach zu leben und zu wandeln.

1869 Christliches Gemuethsgespraech . . . .
Lancaster, Pa.: Gedruckt bei Johann Baer's Soehnen, 1869. pp. 256, 24mo. MPH GCL

—— A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs . . . .
Lancaster, Pa.: Printed and Published by John Baer's Sons, 1869. pp. 384, 60, 24mo. GCL

—— Eby, Benjamin
Buchstabir- und Lesebuch zum Gebrauch fuer deutsche Schulen. Verfasst von Benjamin Eby. Dritte Auflage.
Elkhart, Indiana: Gedruckt und herausgegeben von John F. Funk & Bruder, 1869. pp. 160, 16mo. GCL

—— Katechismus oder kurze und einfache Unterweisung aus der heiligen Schrift, in Fragen und Antworten. Zum Gebrauch in Schulen. Zweite Amerikanische Auflage.
Elkhart, Indiana: Gedruckt und herausgegeben von John F. Funk & Bruder, 1869. pp. 56, 16mo. GCL
Reprinted from the 1824 edition at Ephrata.

1869 Simons, Menno
A FOUNDATION and Plain Instruction . . . . Printed in Europe, A. D. 1565. Translated into the English by I. Daniel Rupp, Author of "Der Maertyrer Geschichte", &c, &c.

Lancaster, Pa.: *Published by J. E. Barr & Co.,* 1869. pp. 424, 12mo. GCL

—— Steiner, Ulrich
DIE ANGENEHMEN STUNDEN IN ZION . . . . Zweite Auflage.
Elkhart, Ind.: *Gedruckt bei J. F. Funk u. Bro.,* 1869. pp. 63, 16mo. GCL

—— VERHANDLUNGEN DER ACHTEN JAEHRLICHEN DIENER-VERSAMMLUNG der Amischen Mennoniten-Bruederschaft, gehalten am 16., 17. und 18. Mai 1869, in der Gegend von Walnut Creek, Holmes Co., Ohio.
Elkhart, Indiana: *Gedruckt bei John F. Funk & Bruder,* 1869. pp. 10, 12mo. MPH SMG

1870 BERICHT DER VERHANDLUNGEN DER NEUNTEN JAEHRLICHEN DIENER-VERSAMMLUNG der Amischen Mennoniten-Bruederschaft, gehalten am 5., 6., 7. und 8. Juni, 1870, auf dem Wohnplatz von Christian Schantz, ungefaehr zwei und eine halbe Meile von Archbold, Fulton County, Ohio.
Elkhart, Indiana: *Gedruckt bei J. F. Funk & Brud.,* 1870. pp. 36, 16mo. MPH GCL SMG

—— CHRISTIAN SPIRITUAL CONVERSATION ON SAVING FAITH . . . .
Lancaster, Pa.: *Printed and Published by John Baer's Sons,* 1870. pp. 309, 12mo. GCL SHL

—— DIE GEMEINSCHAFTLICHE LIEDER-SAMMLUNG . . . .
Lancaster, Pa.: *Druck und Verlag von Johann Baer's Soehnen,* 1870. pp. 342, 16mo. GCL

—— DIE KLEINE GEISTLICHE HARFE . . . . (Sechste Auflage).
Lancaster, Pa.: *Gedruckt bei Johann Baer's Soehnen,* 1870. pp. 40, 412, 49, 12mo. SHL

—— MENNONITE FAMILY ALMANAC for the Year of Our Lord 1870. Being the second after Leap Year, and until the fourth of July, the 94th of American Independence. Having 365 Days. Originally calculated by Lawrence J. Ibach. [For 1880 and after by L. J. Heatwole.]

Published by John F. Funk & Brother, Booksellers, Publishers and Bookbinders, 157 *Main St., Elkhart, Ind.* pp. 36, size 6½ x 8½ (in second issue enlarged to 6½ x 9). GCL SHL

Published by the Mennonite Publishing Company until 1908, since then by the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale.
GCL has 1870-1899, and most of the later issues. SHL has 1870-1889.

—— FAMILIEN KALENDER Fuer das Jahr Unseres Herrn 1870 . . . .
Gedruckt und herausgegeben von John F. Funk u. Brud., Elkhart, Ind. SHL has 1870-79.

German edition of the *Mennonite Family Almanac.*

1870 Eine unparteiische Lieder-Sammlung . . . .
Lancaster, Pa.: Druck und Verlag von Johann Baer's Soehnen, 1870. pp. 342, 24mo. GCL

—— Van Braght, Thielem J.
Der Blutige Schauplatz, oder Maertyrer-Spiegel der Taufs-gesinnten oder Wehrlosen Christen . . . . Nun aber sorgfaeltig uebersetzt und zum vierten Male ans Licht gebracht.
Elkhart, Indiana: Gedruckt und herausgegeben von John F. Funk und Bruder, 1870. pp. 336, 635, 4to. MPH GCL

1871 Die allgemeine Lieder-Sammlung zum privat und oeffentlichen Gottes-Dienst. Mit Fleiss zusammengetragen. **Roem. 15, 6.
Elkhart, Indiana: Gedruckt von John F. Funk und Brud., 1871. pp. 410, 24mo. GCL
Reprints: Elkhart 1875, 1880, 1883, ——, 1889.

The committee that prepared the booklet was Henry B. Brenneman, John M. Christophel, and the Deacon at "Hawpatch", according to J. F. Funk.

—— Bericht der Verhandlungen der zehnten jaehrlichen Diener-Versammlung der Amischen Mennoniten-Bruederschaft gehalten am 28., 29., 30. und 31. Mai 1871, in Livingston County, im Staate Illinois.
Elkhart, Indiana: Gedruckt von John F. Funk & Brud., 1871. pp. 30, 12mo. MPH GCL SMG

—— Dymond, Jonathan
Eine Untersuchung ueber die Uebereinstimmung der Krieges mit den Grundsaetzen des Christenthums, und eine Pruefung der philosophischen Argumente, womit derselbe vertheidigt wird. Nebst Bemerkungen ueber einige der Ursachen des Krieges und ueber einige seiner Folgen. Von Jonathan Dymond. Aus dem Englischen uebersetzt.
Elkhart, Indiana: Gedruckt und herausgegeben von John F. Funk und Bruder, 1871. pp. 110, 8vo. MPH GCL

—— Eby, Benjamin
ABC-Buchstabir- u. Lesebuch, zum Gebrauch fuer deutsche Schulen. Verfasst von Benjamin Eby. Vierte Auflage.
Elkhart, Indiana: Gedruckt und herausgegeben von John F. Funk & Bruder, 1871. pp. 160, 16mo. GCL

—— Funk, Joseph, and Sons
The Harmonia Sacra . . . . By Joseph Funk and Sons. Fourteenth Edition.
Singer's Glen, Rockingham Co., Va.: Joseph Funk's Sons, Publishers, 1871. pp. 360, long 8vo. GCL

—— Simon, Menno
The Complete Works of Menno Simon, translated from the original Dutch or Holland, containing Renunciation of Popery, Foundation and Plain Instruction. The True Christian Faith, Concerning the New Birth, Cross of Christ, Pleasing Meditation on the Twenty-fifth Psalm . . . .

Elkhart, Indiana: *Published by John F. Funk and Brother,* 1871. pp. 455, 8vo. MPH GCL SHL

—— Stuckey, Joseph
EINE BEGEBENHEIT . . . .
Elkhart, Indiana: *Gedruckt von John F. Funk und Brud.,* 1871. pp. 54, 16mo. GCL

—— UNPARTHEYISCHES GESANGBUCH . . . . Sechste verbesserte Auflage, mit einem Anhang.
Lancaster: *Gedruckt und verlegt bey Johann Baer's Soehnen,* 1871. *Stereotypirt bey S. Douglas Wyeth, Pear Strasse Nr. 7, Philadelphia.* pp. 483, 19, 12mo. GCL

—— DER WAFFEN-LOSE WAECHTER.
Millwood, Gap P. O., Pa., 1871. *Published quarterly by Samuel Ernst.* pp. 4, 11x14 in.
Published at least as late as 1881. LCHS has first three volumes, 1871-73.

—— Wynantz, William
ERBAULICHE PREDIGTEN . . . .
Lancaster, Pa.: *Druck und Verlag bei John Baers Soehnen,* 1871. pp. 319, 12mo. SDG

1872 BERICHT DER VERHANDLUNGEN DER ELFTEN JAEHRLICHEN DIENER-VERSAMMLUNG der Amischen Mennoniten-Bruederschaft, gehalten am 19., 20., 21. und 22. Mai 1872. An dem Wohnort von Samuel D. Miller, in Lagrange County, Indiana.
Elkhart, Indiana: *Gedruckt von J. F. Funk & Brud.,* 1872. pp. 39, 16mo. MPH GCL SMG

—— A COLLECTION OF PSALMS, HYMNS, AND SPIRITUAL SONGS . . . . Sixth Edition. With an Appendage of German Hymns.
Singer's Glen, Rockingham County, Virginia. Published by Joseph Funk's Sons. John F. Funk & Bro., Elkhart, Ind., 1872. pp. 384, 48, 16mo. GCL MPH

—— KLEINES HANDBUECHLEIN darinnen Morgen- und Abend-Gebeter . . . .
Elkhart, Indiana: *Gedruckt bei John F. Funk und Bruder,* 1872. pp. 70, 40 (?), 16mo. GCL (defective copy)

—— MEETING CALENDAR of a part of the Mennonite Churches in the United States. For the Year of Our Lord 1872. With a List of Ministers' Names and Addresses.
Elkhart, Ind.: *J. F. Funk & Bro., Publishers,* 1872. pp. 28, 24mo. GCL

—— Philip, Dietrich
VON DER EHE DER CHRISTEN . . . . Nebst eine nachgelassene Schrift von dem Evangelischen Bann und der Meidung Geschrieben durch Dietrich Philip.
Elkhart, Indiana: *Gedruckt und herausgegeben von John F. Funk und Brud.,* 1872. pp. 1-40, large 12mo. SHL
Bound in with *Enchiridion.*

1872 Philip, Dietrich
ENCHIRIDION ODER HANDBUECHLEIN . . . . Dritte Amerikanische Auflage.
Elkhart, Indiana: Gedruckt und herausgegeben von John F. Funk und Brud., 1872. pp. 451, 40, large 12mo. MPH GCL SHL

Bound in with it, pp. 1-40, *Von der Ehe der Christen.*

1873 BERICHT DER VERHANDLUNGEN DER ZWOELFTEN jaehrlichen Diener-Versammlung der Amischen Mennoniten-Dienerschaft, gehalten am 1., 2., 3. und 4. Juni 1873, auf dem Wohnplatz von Chr. Yoder, Zwei und eine halbe Meile von Orrville, Wayne County, Ohio.
Elkhart, Indiana: Gedruckt von John F. Funk & Brud., 1873. pp. 47, 16mo. MPH GCL SMG

—— Brenneman, H. B.
GEMS OF TRUTH FOR CHILDREN. A Series of Religious Instructions on Different Subjects: And is intended to impress upon the minds of the young, the truths of the Scriptures. Written in simple language. By H. B. Brenneman.
Published by the Author. "Herald of Truth" Print, Elkhart, Ind., 1873. pp. 78, 16mo. GCL

—— Brenneman, J. M.
PRIDE AND HUMILITY . . . . By J. M. Brenneman. Third Edition.
Elkhart, Indiana: Published by J. F. Funk & Bro., 1873. pp. 80, 16mo. GCL

—— Burkholder, Christian
NUETZLICHE UND ERBAULICHE ANREDE AN DIE JUGEND . . . . Sechste Auflage.
Elkhart, Indiana: Gedruckt und herausgegeben von J. F. Funk u. Brud., 1873. SHL

Bound in with *Gemuethsgespraech.*

—— CHRISTLICHES GEMUETHSGESPRAECH . . . .
Elkhart, Indiana: Gedruckt und herausgegeben von J. F. Funk u. Brud., 1873. pp. 296, 16mo. GCL

Nuetzliche und erbauliche Anrede an die Jugend, sechste auflage 1873, with separate title page, is bound in, pp. 193-296.

1874 BERICHT DER VERHANDLUNGEN DER DREIZEHNTEN JAEHRLICHEN DIENER-VERSAMMLUNG der Amischen Mennoniten-Dienerschaft, gehalten am 24., 25., 26. u. 27. Mai 1874, auf dem Wohnplatz von Johannes Conrad, Washington Co., Iowa.
Elkhart, Indiana: Gedruckt von John F. Funk & Bruder, 1874. pp. 16, 16mo. GCL SMG

—— CATECHISM or Plain Instruction from the Sacred Scriptures. Translated from the German. Revised Translation.
Elkhart, Ind.: Published by J. F. Funk & Bro., 1874. pp. 50, 16mo. MPH

1874 Schabalie, John Philip
THE WANDERING SOUL . . . . . Second revised English edition.
Lancaster, Pa.: Printed and Published by John Baer's Sons, 1874. pp. 468, 12mo. GCL

1875 DIE ALLGEMEINE LIEDERSAMMLUNG . . . . . Zweite Auflage.
Elkhart, Ind.: Mennonitische Verlagshandlung, 1875. pp. 410, 15. (English Appendix of 15 pages.) 24 mo. GCL

—— BERICHT DER VERHANDLUNGEN DER VIERZEHNTEN JAEHRLICHEN DIENER-VERSAMMLUNG der Amischen Mennoniten-Dienerschaft, gehalten am 16., 17., 18. und 19. Mai 1875, auf dem Wohnplatz von Christian Sutter, vier Meilen von Hopedale, Tazewell Co., Ill.
Elkhart, Indiana: Gedruckt von der Mennonitischen Verlagshandlung, 1875. pp. 52, 16mo. MPH GCL

—— Brenneman, J. M.
HOFFART UND DEMUTH . . . . . Von J. M. Brenneman. Dritte Auflage.
Elkhart, Indiana: Druck und verlag von John F. Funk u. Br., 1875. pp. 78, 16mo. GCL SHL

—— A COLLECTION OF PSALMS, HYMNS, AND SPIRITUAL SONGS . . . . By a committee of Mennonites.
Lancaster, Pa.: Printed and Published by John Baer's Sons, 1875. pp. 384, 48, 24mo. GCL

The 48 pages of appendix are not the customary German appendix, but additional English hymns.

—— DIE ERNSTHAFTE CHRISTENPFLICHT . . . .
Lancaster: Gedruckt und zu haben bey Johann Baer's Soehnen, 1875. pp. 212, 16mo. MPH

—— SPIRITUAL LABYRINTH. With Four Fountains of Grace . . . .
Printed by the Mennonite Publishing Co. (J. F. Funk & Bro.), Elkhart, Indiana. Broadside 15x17. GCL

Date uncertain. Possibly an earlier edition. At least one other edition printed. Advertised in the *Mennonite Family Almanac* for 1877.

—— GEISTLICHER IRRGARTEN, mit vier Gnadenbrunnen . . . .

It is uncertain as to whether Funk published a German edition of this item, but very probably he did.

—— Schabalie, J. P.
DIE WANDLENDE SEELE . . . . . Neue (12te) Auflage.
Philadelphia: Verlag von Schaefer und Koradi, Sued-West-Ecke der Vierten und Wood Strasse. pp. 442, 12mo. GCL

Back fly-leaf has inscription "Presented to Elizzie M. Metzler, Elkhart, Ind. 1875."

—— Wenger, Martin D.
THE PHILHARMONIA, a collection of Tunes, Adapted to public and private worship, containing tunes for all the hymns in the English Mennonite Hymn Book, the Gemeinschaftliche, Unparteiische and Allgemeine Lieder-

sammlungen, the Unparteiische Gesangbuch, and the Mennonitische Gesangbuch, with Instructions and Explanations in English and German, also English and German Texts to most of the Tunes, Metrical Indexes, &c., including a greater variety of Metres of Church Music than any other Work of the Kind now Published. Compiled by Martin D. Wenger.

Published by the Mennonite Publishing Co., Successor to J. F. Funk & Bro. [1875] pp. 319, long 8vo. GCL

Title is also in German on the lower half of the title page.

1876 BERICHT DER VERHANDLUNGEN DER FUENFZEHNTEN JAEHRLICHEN DIENER-VERSAMMLUNG der Amischen Mennoniten-Dienerschaft, gehalten auf dem Wohnplatz von Peter Schad, nahe Archbold, Fulton Co., Ohio.

Elkhart, Indiana: Gedruckt von der Mennonitischen Verlagshandlung, 1876. pp. 34, 16mo. SMG

—— Brenneman, J. M.

EINFACHE LEHRE oder deutliche Erklaerungen und Ermahnungen Ueber gewisse Schriftstellen nebst einigen Gedichte, nuetzlich und erbaulich fuer beleisbegierige Seelen zu lesen. Von J. M. Brenneman. Pruefet aber alles, das Gute Behaltet.

Elkhart, Ind.: Herausgegeben von der Mennonititschen Verlags-Gesellschaft, 1876. pp. 216, 12mo. GCL SMG

—— Brenneman, John M.

PLAIN TEACHINGS, or Simple Illustrations from the Word of God, also several hymns, profitable and edifying to read for those who seek salvation. By J. M. Brenneman. **I. Thessalonians 5:21.

Elkhart, Ind.: Mennonite Publishing Company, 1876. pp. 257, 12mo. GCL

Translated from the German of the same year.

—— CATALOGUE of English and German Books, Tracts, &c., of the Mennonite Publishing Co., Elkhart, Indiana. pp. 32, 32mo. SHL

—— Dyck, Herman

MENSCHENFLUCH, UND GOTTESSEGEN; Eine Erzaehlung aus der Zeit des dreissigjaehrigen Krieges, von Herman Dyck.

Elkhart, Indiana: Gedruckt von der Mennonitischen Verlagshandlung, 1876. pp. 51, small 8vo. GCL

—— GEMEINSCHAFTLICHER VEREIN der Mennoniten zur Ersetzung von Brandschaden.

Berlin: Gedruckt in der "Journal" Office bei Rittinger und Moss, 1876. pp. 8, 12mo. GAW

—— Funk, Joseph, and Sons.

THE NEW HARMONIA SACRA . . . . By Joseph Funk and Sons . . . . Fifteenth Edition.

Singer's Glen, Va.: Glen Publishing Company, Printers, 1876. pp. 360, long 8vo. GCL

—— Simons, Menno

DIE VOLLSTAENDIGEN WERKE MENNO SIMONS, uebersetzt aus der Orig-

inalsprache, dem Hollaendischen; enthaltend [table of contents follows] . . . . . **Ps. 37, 30, 31. **Heb. 13, 7.

Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonitische Verlagshandlung,* 1876. pp. 390, 656. GCL

The second part bears the subtitle, "Zweiter Theil", and the date 1881.

1876 Simons, Menno

EIN FUNDAMENT und klare Anweisung . . . . .

Lancaster, (Penn.): *Gedruckt und zu haben bey Johann Baer's Soehnen,* 1876. pp. 710, 8vo. MPH

—— Moser, Johannes

EINE VERANTWORTUNG gegen Daniel Musser's Meidungs-Erklaerung, welche er gemacht hat in seinem Buch, betitelt: "Reformirte Mennoniten." Geschrieben von Johannes Moser, zu Bluffton, Ohio.

Lancaster, Pa.: *Gedruckt von Samuel Ernst, in der Druckerei des "Waffenlosen Waechter",* 1876. pp. 83, 8vo. MPH GCL

A small pamphlet on the Amish-Mennonite controversy in Berne, 1693-1711. It contains many original letters with names of men who later came to Lancaster County.

—— EINE UNPARTEIISCHE LIEDER-SAMMLUNG . . . . .

Lancaster, Pa.: *Druck und Verlag von Johann Baer's Soehnen,* 1876. pp. 342, 24mo. GCL

—— THE WORDS OF CHEER, a Monthly for Children.

H. A. Mumaw, Orrville, O. pp. 8 (monthly).

An eight page monthly, 7x10, first edited and published by H. A. Mumaw at Orrville, Ohio. First issue, January, 1876. Beginning with the issue for March, 1878, the journal was published by the Mennonite Publishing Company with Joseph Summers as editor. Upon the death of Summers, in 18—, A. B. Kolb became the editor and continued until the periodical was sold to the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, Pa., in 1908, where it has since been published.

1877 (?) Brenneman, J. M.

AUFMUNTERUNG der bussfertigen Suender und Freude ueber ihre Bekehrung. Von J. M. Brenneman.

Gedruckt von der Mennonitischen Verlags-Gesellschaft, Elkhart, Indiana. pp. 47, 16mo. MPH GCL

—— A COLLECTION OF PSALMS, HYMNS, AND SPIRITUAL SONGS . . . . Seventh Edition. With an appendage of German Hymns.

Singer's Glen, Rockingham County, Virginia. Published by the Glen Pub. Co. John F. Funk & Bro., Elkhart, Ind., 1877. pp. 384, 48, 24mo. GCL

But the German appendix is missing. In place of it is found, *Appendix to Mennonite Hymn Book. Elkhart, Ind., Mennonite Publishing Company,* 1878.

—— Brenneman, J. M.

ENCOURAGEMENT to Penitent Sinners and Joy over their conversion, By J. M. Brenneman. ***Ezek. 18:30.

Elkhart, Ind.: *Published by Mennonite Publishing Co.,* 1877. pp. 48, 24mo. GCL

1877 (?) Horst, A.
Ein Brief von A. Horst, Mount Joy, Pennsylv., an Ulrich Steiner in der Schweiz.
Steiner died in 1877. A copy of the letter could not be found, nor could A. Horst be identified. It is possible that the letter was occasioned by the publication in 1868 of Steiner's booklet, *Die Angenehme Stunden in Zion,* q.v.

—— Meyer, Abraham A.
Christliche Lieder. Gedichtet und zum Theil gesammelt von Abraham A. Meyer, an der Deep Run, in Bedminster Taunschip, Bucks County, Pa. (Gestorben am 16ten Mai, 1877 in seinem 83ten Lebensjahr.) Herausgegeben von den Hinterbliebenen.
Gedruckt von J. G. Stauffer, Milford Square, Pa., 1877. pp. 111, 24mo. GCL

—— Steiner, Ulrich
Die Angenehme Stunden in Zion . . . . . Vierte Auflage.
Biel [Switzerland], Druck von L. Heer-Betrix, 1877. pp. 67, 16mo. MPH

1878 Bericht der Verhandlungen der sechzehnten jaehrlichen Dienerversammlung der Amischen Mennoniten-Dienerschaft. Gehalten am 9., 10., 11. und 12. Juni, 1878. Auf dem Pfingstsonntag versammelten sie sich zum Gottesdienst nahe Eureka, Woodford Co., Ill.
Elkhart, Indiana: Gedruckt von der Mennonitischen Verlagshandlung, 1878. pp. 18, 16mo. MPH GCL

—— Der Christliche Jugendfreund.
Published monthly by Samuel Guengerich of Amisch, Johnson Co., Iowa, and printed by the Mennonite Publishing Company, Elkhart, Indiana. Issued during the first year as a four page journal, 8½x11. Initial issue January, 1878. Beginning with the second volume the *Jugendfreund* was enlarged to eight pages, in smaller format, however, 7x10. GCL has first volume. Guengerich was editor and publisher for three years. In 1881 the paper was taken over by the Mennonite Publishing Company, and M. D. Wenger was appointed as editor.

—— Christian Spiritual Conversation on Saving Faith for the Young in Questions and Answers and a Confession of Faith of the Mennonites with an Appendix.
Lancaster, Pa.: Printed and Published by John Baer's Sons, 1878. pp. 308, 16mo. GCL SMG

—— Die Ernsthafte Christenpflicht.
Berlin, 1878.
Reported in Horsch, *Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Mennoniten-Gemeinden* in the bibliography. A copy could not be located.

—— Funk, John F.
The Mennonite Church and Her Accusers. A Vindication of the character of the Mennonite Church of America from her first organization in this country to the present time. By John F. Funk.
Elkhart, Indiana: Mennonite Publishing Company, 1878. pp. 210, 12mo. MPH GCL SHL

1878 Der Nebraska Ansiedler, den Interessen der Deutschen Bevoelkerung des Westens gewidmet. [Herald of Truth Supplement].
Lincoln, Nebraska, June, 1878 [first issue]. *Printed by Mennonite Publishing Co., Elkhart, Indiana.* pp. 4 (monthly), 10x15½.
With the financial support of the B. & M. Railroad (Burlington and Missouri River R. R.). Continued for two years. GCL has complete file. With June, 1880 it became the *Mennonitische Rundschau,* q.v.

1879 Eby, Benjamin
Kurzgefasste Kirchengeschichte und Glaubenslehre . . . .
Elkhart, Indiana: *Druck von der Mennonitischen Verlagshandlung,* 1879. pp. 211, 16mo. GCL

—— Harvey, Thomas, and Robson, Isaac
An die in den Vereinigten Staaten aus Sued-Russland eingewanderten sogenannten Mennoniten.
Elkhart, Ind.: *Gedruckt von der Menn. Verlagshandlung,* 1879. pp. 8. GCL SMG
An address from two English Quakers, Thomas Harvey, Isaac Robson, Feb. 8, 1879.

—— Troyer, Noah
Sermons delivered by Noah Troyer, the Noted Amishman, While in an Unconscious State. With a brief biographical sketch of his life.
Daily Republican Job Print., Iowa City, Iowa, 1879. pp. 40, 8vo. MPH GCL

1880 Die Allgemeine Lieder-sammlung . . . . Dritte Auflage.
Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonitische Verlagshandlung,* 1880. pp. 432, 31, 24mo. GCL

—— Ausbund . . . . Neunte Auflage.
Mennonitische Verlagshandlung, Elkhart, Indiana, 1880. pp. 954, 12mo.

—— Ausbund . . . . Zum neuntenmal verlegt in Pennsylvanien.
Lancaster: *Gedruckt und zu haben bey Johann Baer's Soehnen,* 1880. pp. 812, 24, 52, 42, 12mo. GCL

—— Coffman, J. S.
Infant Lesson Book: A series of Bible lessons, with questions and answers for very young learners. For the use of Sunday Schools. By J. S. Coffman, with the Sanction of the Bishops of the Conference of the Mennonite Church of Lancaster Co., Pa.
Elkhart, Ind.: *Mennonite Publishing Co.,* 1880. pp. 50, 16mo. GCL

—— A Collection of Psalms and Hymns suited to the various occasions of public worship and private devotion. Compiled by a committee of Mennonites.
Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonite Publishing Co.,* 1880. pp. 384, 46, 24mo. GCL

—— Godshalk
Encouragement to Early Piety, For the Young. By Samuel Godshalk, Relating to the Death of his Son, Henry. ***Matt. 6:33. **Ecclesiastes 12:1.

Published by the Author, Elkhart, Indiana. Mennonite Publishing Co., Printers, 1880. pp. 48, 24mo. GCL

Consists of a collection of brief statements and hymns, the latter occupying about 40 pages.

1880 INTERMEDIATE QUESTION BOOK, being a series of lessons or religious instructions, for the young, in questions and answers, for Sunday Schools. Compiled by a committee, with the sanction and under the direction of the bishops of the conference of the Mennonite Church of Lancaster County, Pa.

Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonite Publishing Company,* 1880. pp. 97, 16mo. GCL

—— PRIMARY QUESTION BOOK, Being a series of lessons or religious instructions, for the young, in questions and answers, for Sunday Schools, compiled by a committee, with the sanction and under the direction of the bishops of the conference of the Mennonite Church of Lancaster County, Pa.

Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonite Publishing Company,* 1880. pp. 73, 24mo. GCL

—— MENNONITISCHE RUNDSCHAU.

Redigirt von J. Harms und herausg. von der Menn. Verlagshandlung, Elkhart, Ind. pp. 4, semi-monthly.

First issue, June 5, 1880, in succession to the *Nebraska Ansiedler.* Appeared as a four-page semi-monthly, 10x15½ on fifth and twentieth of each month until March 5, 1881. Thereafter it appeared on the first and fifteenth of each month until the end of the year 1883. With the issue of January 3, 1833 a weekly edition was added with same editor and publisher. This edition appeared every Wednesday. With the last issue of 1883 the semi-monthly was discontinued. J. F. Harms continued as editor until February, 1886. With the issue of Febr. 10, the publishers announced that the Rundschau would be edited in Elkhart but did not name the editor. GCL has complete file, I-VII, to end of 1886. MPH has from 1910 on.

—— Troyer, Noah

PREDIGTEN, vorgetragen durch Noah Troyer, einem Gleide der Amischen Mennoniten Gemeinde in Johnson Co., Iowa, waehrend er in einem Stande der Unbewussheit war. Zweites Buch. Enthaltend sechs noch nie gedruckte Predigten, nebst etlichen von andern geschriebenen Aufsaetzen. Uebersetzt aus dem Englischen.

Elkhart, Ind.: *Mennonite Publishing Company,* 1880. pp. 120, 12mo. MPH GCL

—— Troyer, Noah

SERMONS delivered by Noah Troyer, a member of the Amish Mennonite Church, of Johnson Co., Iowa, while in an unconscious state. Second Book. Containing Six Sermons not before Published, together with Several Articles from Other Writers.

Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonite Publishing Company,* 1880. pp. 103, 12mo. MPH GCL SMG

—— UNPARTHEYISCHES GESANG-BUCH . . . . Sechste verbesserte Auflage, mit einem Anhang.

Lancaster: *Gedruckt und verlegt bey Johann Baer's Soehnen,* 1880. *Stereotypirt bey S. Douglas Wyeth, Pear Strasse Nr. 7, Philadelphia.* pp. 79, 483, 19, 12mo. GCL

1880 THE WATCHFUL PILGRIM.

Published by Abraham Blosser, Dale Enterprise, Va. pp. 8, semi-monthly. First issue August 1, 1880. [24 pp. first number.]

GCL has copy of the first issue. References to the paper show that it was published as late as 1888. Blosser died in 1890.

—— Zook, Shem

EINE WAHRE DARSTELLUNG Von Dem, welches uns das Evangelium in der Reinheit lehrt, so wie auch ein unparteiischer Bericht von den HAUPT-UMSTAENDEN Welche sich in unterschiedlichen Gemeinden ereigneten woraus endlich die unchristlichen Spaltungen entstanden sind. ****Joh. 3,20, 21. **Psalm 94,15.

Published by Shem Zook, Mattawana, Mifflin Co., Pa., 1880. pp. 31, 8vo. MPH GCL SMG

1881 BIBLISCHE GESCHICHTEN des Alten und Neuen Testaments, durch Bibelsprueche und zahlreiche Erklaerungen erlaeutert.

Elkhart, Ind.: *Mennonite Publishing Company,* 1881.

No copy could be located.

—— BIBLE CLASS QUESTION BOOK, for the use of advanced scholars in the Sunday School. By a committee. With the Sanction and under the Direction of the Bishops of the Conference of the Mennonite Church of Lancaster County, Pa. **I Cor. 3:11.

Elkhart, Ind.: *Mennonite Publishing Company,* 1882. pp. 137, 16mo.

J. F. Funk states that this booklet was prepared by Amos Herr, Jacob N. Brubacher and J. F. Funk. The copyright is 1881 by Mennonite Publishing Company. The *Herald of Truth* for July, 1881, states that it had already been translated into German and was just off the press. A copy could not be located.

—— FRAGEBUCH FUER ANFAENGER-KLASSEN, eine Reihe von Lektionen fuer den religioesen Unterricht der Jugend in der Sonntagsschule. Zusammengestellt in Fragen und Antworten von einem Comite. Mit der Gutheissung und unter der Leitung der Bischoefe der mennonitischen Conferenz von Lancaster County, Pa.

Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonitisches Verlagshaus,* 1881. pp. 98, 16mo.
A copy could not be located.

—— FRAGEBUCH FUER BIBEL-KLASSEN . . . .

Elkhart, Ind.: *Mennonitische Verlagshandlung.* pp. 137, 16mo.

Reported by *Herald of Truth,* July, 1881, as just printed. A copy could not be located.

—— FRAGEBUCH FUER MITTLEREN-KLASSEN . . . .

Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonitische Verlagshandlung,* 1881. pp. 98, 16mo.

Reported by the *Herald of Truth* for July, 1881, as just printed. A copy could not be located.

1881 KATECHISMUS oder kurze und einfaeltige Unterweisung aus der heiligen Schrift, in Frage und Antwort, fuer die Kinder zum Gebrauch in den Schulen. Ausgegeben durch die christliche taufgesinnte Gemeinde welche Mennoniten genannt werden. I Cor. 3, 11**.

Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonitische Verlagshandlung,* 1881. pp. 61, 16mo. MPH

—— THE MENNONITE MUTUAL FIRE INSURANCE ASSOCIATION OF CANADA.
Berlin: *Printed at the Office of the Daily News,* 1881. pp. 8, 12mo. GAW

—— Mumaw, H. A.
FIRESIDE READINGS. A Collection of Essays, Poems and Sentences, By Various Authors. Devoted to the Cultivation of the True, the Beautiful, and the Good, Around the Hearthstones of our Happy Western Homes. Compiled by H. A. Mumaw.
Elkhart, Ind.: *Mennonite Publishing Co.,* 1881. pp. 111, 12mo. GCL

—— Wenger, M. D.
THE PHILHARMONIA . . . .
Mennonite Publishing Co., Elkhart, Ind. pp. 319, long 8vo.
The *Herald of Truth* announces a new edition as just off the press, July, 1881.

1882 BIBLE CLASS QUESTION BOOK . . . .
Elkhart, Ind.: *Mennonite Publishing Company,* 1882. pp. 137, 16mo. MPH GCL

—— Blosser, Abraham (Translator)
A TREATISE ON OUTWARD WATER BAPTISM and An Explication of Some Errors. as Also the Baptism with Fire, and How the Ceremonial Passover Was Ended in Christ, And the Communion Instituted, and How the Spirit of God May be Distinguished From the Spirits of Error. By Peter Burkholder A Teacher of the Christian Religion, known as Mennonites, in the Year of Our Saviour, 1815.
Originally Printed in the German Language, by Lawrence Wartmann, Harrisonburg, Rockingham County, Virginia, in 1816. *Translated into the English Language and Printed by Abraham Blosser, Dale Enterprise, Va.* (*Second Edition*) 1882. GCL SMG

—— A COLLECTION OF PSALMS AND HYMNS . . . .
Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonite Publishing Co.,* 1882. pp. 384, 46, 24mo. GCL

—— Eby, Benjamin
A B C BUCHSTABIR- UND LESEBUCH . . . . Fuenfte Auflage.
Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonitische Verlagshandlung,* 1882. pp. 160, 12mo. GCL SHL

—— Heatwole, D. A.
A HISTORY OF THE HEATWOLE FAMILY from the landing of the Ancestor of the Race, up to the present time. By D. A. Heatwole.

Printed at the office of the "Watchful Pilgrim", Dale Enterprise, Va., 1882. pp. 24, 24mo. GCL SHL

1882 MEETING CALENDAR of all the Mennonite Churches in Eastern Pennsylvania for the year of our Lord 1882 with a list of Ministers and Deacons names and Addresses.
New Holland, 1882. pp. 69, 24mo.
The *Meeting Calendar* has been in continuous publication since 1854 or earlier. See the pertinent item in the section of this *Bibliography* which appeared in the April issue. Only those years are listed for which copies are known to exist.

—— DIE PSALMEN DAVIDS nach Martin Luthers Uebersetzung.
Elkhart, Ind.: *Mennonitische Verlags-Handlung,* 1882. pp. 318, 16mo. GCL

—— Scherk, David
NICHTGLEICHSTELLUNG MIT DER WELT. Zusammengetragen von Pred. David Scherk und mehreren seiner Mitarbeiter. Preston, Ontario.
Elkhart, Ind.: *Mennonitische Verlagshandlung,* 1882. pp. 84, 16mo. MPH GCL

—— Sherk, David (Pre.)
NON-CONFORMITY TO THE WORLD. Compiled by Pre. David Sherk, with the Aid and Assistance of some of his Co-laborers.
Elkhart, Ind.: *Mennonite Publishing Co.,* 1882. pp. 72, 16mo. GCL SMG

1883 DIE ALLGEMEINE LIEDER-SAMMLUNG . . . . Vierte verbesserte Auflage.
Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonitische Verlagshandlung,* 1883. pp. 432, 31, 24mo. GCL

—— Blosser, Abraham
THE SEVEN CHURCHES OF ASIA, typical of Seven Ages, or Periods of Time. By Abraham Blosser.
Published by Abraham Blosser, Dale Enterprise, Va., 1883. pp. 40, 16mo. GCL

—— Brunk, C. H.
BIBLE SCHOOL HYMNS and Sacred Songs for Sunday Schools and Other Religious Services. By C. H. Brunk.
Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonite Publishing Company,* 1883. pp. 52, long 12mo. GCL
Reprints: Elkhart 1884, 1888.

—— CATECHISM or plain instructions from the sacred Scriptures. In questions and answers for children in schools. Originally published in the German language, by the Mennonite Church in Waldeck. Revised Translation.
Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonite Publishing Co.,* 1883. pp. 50, 16mo. GCL

—— GEMEINSCHAFTLICHE LIEDERSAMMLUNG . . . .
Berlin, Canada: *Verlag von Boedecker und Stuebing,* 1883. pp. 388, 16mo.

1884 Martin, Jacob
EIN SCHIFFLEIN gegen den Wind gerichtet, naemlich ein Auszug aus der Heiligen Schrift ueber einige Religions-Fragen unserer Zeit: von Jacob Martin.
Berlin, Ont., 1883. pp. 209, 12mo. MPH GCL

—— Simons, Menno
DIE BEKEHRUNG MENNO SIMONS und sein Ausgang aus der roemischen Kirche.
Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonitische Verlagshandlung,* 1883. pp. 32, 16mo. MPH GCL
Reprint: Sinsheim, Baden, Germany 1889 by Ulrich Hege.

—— PRIMARY QUESTION BOOK . . . .
Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonite Publishing Company,* 1883. pp. 73, 16mo. GCL

—— Stuckey, Joseph
EINE BEGEBENHEIT, die sich in der Mennoniten-Gemeinde in Deutschland und in der Schweiz von 1693 bis 1700 zugetragen hat.
Elkhart, Ind.: *Gedruckt von John F. Funk und Brud.,* 1883. pp. 54, 24mo. GCL

1884 THE BIBLE MODE OF BAPTISM. By different authors.
Published by Abraham Blosser, Dale Enterprise, Va., 1884. pp. 60, large 32mo. GCL

—— Coffman, J. S.
INFANT LESSON BOOK . . . . . By J. S. Coffman.
Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonite Publishing Company,* 1884. pp. 50, 16mo. GCL

—— Brubacher, Jacob N.
THE BRUBACHER GENEALOGY IN AMERICA. By Jacob N. Brubacher.
Elkhart, Ind.: *Mennonite Publishing Co.,* 1884. pp. 243, 24mo. GCL SHL

—— Brunk, C. H.
BIBLE SCHOOL HYMNS and Sacred Songs . . . . By C. H. Brunk. Enlarged Edition.
Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonite Publishing Company,* 1884. pp. 86, long 12mo. GCL

—— A COLLECTION OF PSALMS AND HYMNS . . . . .
Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonite Publishing Co.,* 1884. pp. 384, 46, 24mo. GCL

—— FRAGEBUCH FUER ANFAENGER-KLASSEN . . . . .
Elkhart, Indiana: *Mennonitisches Verlagshaus,* 1884. pp. 78, 16mo. GCL

—— PROCEEDINGS of the Mennonite Conferences in the Valley of Virginia.
Elkhart, Indiana: *Printed by the Mennonite Publishing Company,* 1884. pp. 37, large 16mo. GCL SMG

Published by the Virginia Conference according to resolution of 1883. Contains minutes of Conference proceedings beginning with the Spring Conference, 1860, and including the Spring Conference of 1884. Minutes of a Conference of 1835 are also given (translated from the German).

1885 Hertzler, John, Sr.
A Brief Biographic Memorial of Jacob Hertzler, and a complete genealogical family register of his lineal descendants and those related by intermarriage, from 1730 to 1883, chronologically arranged. Together with the necessary historical and other notes. Also, an appendix of the Christian Zug family. By John Hertzler, Sr. Port Royal, Juniata Co., Pa.
Elkhart, Indiana: Mennonite Publishing Company, 1885. pp. 384, 16mo. GCL SHL

1886 Die Ernsthafte Christenpflicht . . . . Revidierte und vermehrte Ausgabe.
Elkhart, Indiana: Mennonitische Verlagshandlung, 1886. pp. 154, 74, 16mo. MPH

—— Souder, John D.
History of Franconia Township. By John D. Souder.
Published by Benjamin L. Gehman, Harleysville, Pa., 1886. pp. 102, 12mo. MPH GCL

—— Eine Unparteiische Lieder-Sammlung . . . .
Lancaster, Pa.: Druck und Verlag von Johann Baer's Soehnen, 1886. pp. 242, 16mo.

—— Van Braght, Thielem J.
The Bloody Theatre, or Martyrs Mirror of the Defenseless Christians, who baptized only upon Confession of Faith, and who suffered and died for the testimony of Jesus, their Savior, from the time of Christ to the year A. D. 1660.. Compiled from various authentic chronicles, memorials, and testimonies by Thielem J. van Braght. Translated from the original Dutch or Holland Language from the Edition of 1660. By Joseph F. Sohm. Illustrated.
Elkhart, Indiana: Mennonite Publishing Company, 1886. pp. 1093, 4to. MPH GCL SHL

(Concluded from page 48)

171. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia,* Vol. II, pp. 1258 f. It was established in 1781 with about 100 members. A company of Quaker Blues, composed of young Friends, was organized in the American interest. Siebert, *op. cit.,* p. 23.
172. The Pennsylvania Germans refer to the non-Teutonic farmers as Yankees—outlanders.
173. The use of the appellation, Pennsylvania-Dutch, is confusing. Pennsylvania-German is better. It should be remembered, however, that the Amish and Mennonites were not German, but Swiss in origin.
174. The loyalism of some of the Mennonites played some part in influencing them to settle in Canada after the Revolution, where they could still be under King George. Smith, *Mennonites,* pp. 265 ff. Cf. Hartzler, *Mennonites in The World War,* p. 31. However the desire for cheap land was certainly a very powerful motive which led to the emigration.
175. *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania,* by Benjamin Rush, M.D., in *Columbian Magazine* for January, 1889, reprinted with introduction and annotations by Theo. E. Schmauk in *Pa. Ger. Soc. Proceedings,* Vol. X, Lancaster, Pa., p. 120.

NAFZIGER (NAFFZIGER, NAFFZINGER) FAMILY HISTORY

Request for Information

Will anyone who possesses information concerning the Nafziger family, however unimportant the information may seem, kindly communicate with Mr. L. S. Nafziger, Goshen, Ind. Although the Nafziger family seems to be an Amish family from the Emmenthal near Bern, Switzerland, it has not yet been possible to trace the family farther back than the latter part of the seventeenth century. Information concerning the Nafzigers before that time will be greatly appreciated.

* * * *

Der Unterzeichnete bittet um jede, auch unwichtig erscheinende Information bezeuglich der Nafziger, eine allem nach amische Famile aus dem Berner Emmental. Insbesondere ergeht diese Bitte an die elsaessischen, west- und sueddeutschen Mennonitengemeinden, sowie an die Gemeinden in Luxemburg. Porti und andere Unkosten werden gerne ersetzt.

—Ernst Correll.

ERRATA

Latin Text of the Castelberger Letter as printed in the Review *for July,* 1927

The following corrections should be made on page 42, Vol. I, No. 3:

line 24 from the top read *claudicabam* for *claudicabum*;
line 6 from the bottom read *esse* for *ese*;
line 5 from the bottom read *rescribo* for *rsscribo.*

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